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# TRAVELS

THROUGH

# SYRIA AND EGYPT.

VOL. II.

# TRAVELS

THROUGH

# SYRIA AND EGYPT.

IN THE YEARS 1783, 1784, AND 1785.

CONTAINING

The preſent Natural and Political State of thoſe Countries, their Productions, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; with Obſervations on the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Government of the TURKS and ARABS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER PLATES.

BY M. C—F. VOLNEY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# TRAVELS

IN

# EGYPT AND SYRIA.

## STATE OF SYRIA.

### CHAP. XXIV.

#### SECT. I.

*Of the Anſarians.*

THE firſt people who ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the inhabitants of Syria among thoſe who employ themſelves in cultivation, are thoſe, called in that country by the plural name Anſaria, in Deliſle's maps ſtiled Enſyrians, and, in thoſe of Danville, Naſſaris. The territory occupied by theſe Anſaria is that chain of mountains which extends from Antakia to the rivulet called *Nahr-el-Kabir*, or the Great River. The hiſtory of their origin, though little known, is yet inſtructive: I ſhall give it in

the words of a writer who has drawn his materials from the beſt authorities *(a)*.

" In the year of the Greeks 1202, (A. D. " 891), there lived at the village of *Naſar* " in the environs of Koufa, an old man, who, " from his faſtings, his continual prayers, " and his poverty, paſſed for a ſaint: ſeve- " ral of the common people declaring them- " ſelves his partizans, he ſelected from " among them twelve diſciples to propagate " his doctrine. But the magiſtrate of the " place, alarmed at his proceedings, ſeized " the old man, and confined him in priſon. " In this reverſe of fortune, his ſituation ex- " cited the pity of a girl who was ſlave to " the goaler, and ſhe determined to give " him his liberty. An opportunity ſoon " offered to effect her deſign. One day, " when the goaler was gone to bed intoxi- " cated, and in a profound ſleep, ſhe gently " took the keys from under his pillow, " and, after opening the door to the old " man, returned them to their place un- " perceived by her maſter: the next day, " when the gaoler went to viſit his priſoner, " he was extremely aſtoniſhed at finding he

(*a*) Aſſemani, *Bibliotheque orientale.*

" had

" had made his eſcape, and the more ſo
" ſince he could perceive no marks of
" violence. He therefore judiciouſly con-
" cluded he had been delivered by an angel,
" and eagerly ſpread the report, to avoid the
" reprehenſion he merited; the old man, on
" the other hand, aſſerted the ſame thing to
" his diſciples, and preached his doctrines
" with more earneſtneſs than ever. He
" even wrote a book, in which, among other
" things, he ſays: *I, ſuch a one, of the village*
" *of Naſar, have ſeen Chriſt, who is the word of*
" *God, who is Ahmad, ſon of Mohammad, ſon*
" *of Hanefa, of the race of Ali; who alſo is*
" *Gabriel, and he ſaid to me: Thou art he who*
" *readeth, (with underſtanding,) thou art the*
" *man who ſpeaketh truth; thou art the camel*
" *which preſerveth the faithful from wrath;*
" *thou art the beaſt which carrieth their bur-*
" *then; thou art the (Holy) Spirit, and John,*
" *the ſon of Zachary, Go, and preach to men that*
" *they make four genuflections in praying; two*
" *before the riſing of the ſun, and two before his*
" *ſetting, turning their faces towards Jeruſalem:*
" *and let them ſay, three times: God Almighty,*
" *God moſt high, God moſt great: let them ob-*
" *ſerve only the ſecond and third feſtival; let*

" *them faſt but two days annually; let them not*
" *waſh the prepuce, nor drink beer, but as much*
" *wine as they think proper; and, laſtly, let them*
" *abſtain from the fleſh of carnivorous animals.*
" This old man, paſſing into Syria, propa-
" gated his opinions among the lower orders
" of the country people, numbers of whom
" believed in him. And, after a few years,
" he went away, and nobody ever knew what
" became of him."

Such was the origin of theſe Anſarians, who are, for the moſt part, inhabitants of the mountains before mentioned. A little more than a century after this, the cruſaders, carrying the war into theſe countries, and, marching from Marrah, along the Orontes, towards Lebanon, fell in with ſome of theſe *Naſireans*, a great number of whom they ſlew. William of Tyre (*b*), who reports this fact, confounds them with the *Aſſaſſins*, and poſſibly they might have reſembled each other; as to what he adds, that the Franks, as well as the Arabs, employed the term *aſſaſſins*, without being able to give any account of its origin; it is a problem eaſy of ſolution. Haſ-

(*b*) Lib. xx. chap. 30.

ſaſſin

ſaſſin *(c)*, in the vulgar Arabic, ſignifies *Robbers of the night*; perſons who *lie in ambuſh to kill*; and is ſtill underſtood in this ſenſe at Cairo, and in Syria; for which reaſon it was applied to the Batanians, who ſlew by ſurpriſe. The cruſaders, who happened to be in Syria at the time this practice was moſt frequent, muſt have adopted the uſe of the term in queſtion. What they have related of the old man of the mountain, is in conſequence of an improper tranſlation of the phraſe *Shaik-el-Djebal*, which ſignifies *Lord of the mountains*, the title the Arabs gave to the chief of the Batenians, whoſe reſidence was to the eaſt of Kourd-eſtan, in the mountains of the ancient Media.

The Anſarians are, as I have ſaid, divided into ſeveral tribes or ſects; among which we diſtinguiſh the Shamſia; or adorers of the ſun; the Kelbia, or worſhippers of the dog, and the Kadmouſia, who, as I am aſſured, pay a particular homage to that part in women, which correſponds to the Priapus *(d)*.



(*c*) The root *haſs*, with an aſpirated *h*, ſignifies to kill, to aſſaſſinate, to liſten, to ſurprize; but the compound *hâſſas* is not to be found in Golius.

(*d*) I am aſſured, likewiſe, that they hold nocturnal aſ-

ſemblies,

M. Niebuhr, to whom the ſame circumſtances were related as to me, could not believe them, becauſe, ſays he, it is not probable that mankind ſhould *ſo far* degrade themſelves; but this mode of reaſoning is contradicted, both by the hiſtory of all nations, which proves how capable the human mind is of the moſt extravagant exceſſes, and even by the preſent ſtate of almoſt all countries, eſpecially of the eaſtern world, where we meet with a degree of ignorance and credulity ſufficient to receive the moſt palpable abſurdities. The whimſical ſuperſtitions I have mentioned, may the rather be believed ſtill to exiſt among the Anſarians, as they ſeem to have been preſerved there by a regular tranſmiſſion from thoſe antient times in which they are known to have prevailed. Theodoret ns remark that, notwithſtanding the [illegible] of Antioch, Chriſtianity penetrated [illegible] greateſt difficulty into theſe countries; [illegible] few proſelytes were made here, [illegible] the reign of Julian: and from that

[illegible]ich, after certain diſcourſes, they extinguiſh [illegible]dge promiſcuous luſt, as has been reported [illegible]ities.

period

period to the invaſion of the Arabs there was not much time for its eſtabliſhment. In fact, revolutions in opinion ſeldom take place ſo readily in the provinces as in great cities, where the facility of communication diffuſes new ideas with more rapidity, ſo that they are ſoon either univerſally received or entirely exploded, The progreſs made by Chriſtianity, among theſe rude mountaineers, could only ſerve to prepare the way for Mahometaniſm, more ſuitable to their habits and inclinations; and to this abſurd medley of ancient and modern doctrines the old man of Naſar owed his ſucceſs, One hundred and fifty years after, Mohammed-el-Dourzi having, in his turn, formed a ſect, the Anſarians did not admire its principal article, the divinity of the Caliph Hakem: for this reaſon they remain diſtinct from the Druzes, though they reſemble each other in ſeveral points. Many of the Anſarians believe in the Metempſychoſis; others reject the immortality of the ſoul; and, in general, in that civil and religious anarchy, that ignorance and rudeneſs which prevail among them, theſe peaſants adopt what opinions they think proper, follow-

ing the ſect they like beſt, and, frequently, attaching themſelves to none.

Their country is divided into three principal diſtricts, farmed by the chiefs called *Mokaddamin*. Their tribute is paid to the Pacha of Tripoli, from whom they annually receive their title. Their Mountains are in general not ſo ſteep as thoſe of Lebanon; and, conſequently, are better adapted to cultivation; but they are alſo more expoſed to the Turks, and hence, doubtleſs, it happens, that, with greater plenty of corn, tobacco, wines, and olives, they are more thinly inhabited than thoſe of their neighbours the Maronites, and the Druzes, of whom I ſhall next ſpeak.

## SECT. II.

### *Of the Maronites.*

BETWEEN the Anſarians, to the north, and the Druzes to the ſouth, we find an inconſiderable people long known under the name of *Mawarna* or *Maronites*. Their origin, and

and the minute difference between them and the Latins, of which communion they are, have been much diſcuſſed by eccleſiaſtical writers. All that is worth notice, and known with certainty, concerning them, may be reduced to what follows:

Towards the end of the ſixth age of the church, while the ſpirit of retirement from the world was equally novel and fervid, a hermit, of the name of Maroun, lived on the banks of the Orontes, who, by his faſting, his ſolitary mode of life, and his auſterities, became much reſpected by the neighbouring people. It ſeems that, in the diſputes which at that time aroſe between Rome and Conſtantinople, he employed his credit in favour of the weſtern Chriſtians. His death, far from abating the ardor of his followers, gave new energy to their zeal: it was reported that miracles had been wrought by his remains, and, in conſequence, many perſons aſſembled from Kineſrin, from Awaſem and other places, who built at Hama a chapel and a tomb whence ſoon aroſe a convent, very celebrated in that part of Syria. The quarrels of the two Metropolitan churches encreaſed, and the whole empire entered warmly

warmly into the diſſentions of the prieſts and princes. Matters were thus ſituated, when, about the end of the ſeventh century, a monk, named John the Maronite, obtained, by his talents for preaching, the reputation of being one of the moſt powerful ſupporters of the cauſe of the Latins, or Partiſans of the Pope. Their opponents, who eſpouſed the cauſe of the Emperor, and were therefore named *Melkites*, or Royaliſts, made at that time great progreſs in Lebanon. To oppoſe them with ſucceſs, the Latins determined to ſend thither John the Maronite: they preſented him, accordingly, to the agent of the Pope, at Antioch, who, after conſecrating him Biſhop of Djebal, ſent him to preach in thoſe countries. John loſt no time in rallying his partiſans, and in augmenting their number; but, oppoſed by the intrigues, and even by the open attacks, of the Melkites, thought it neceſſary to reſiſt force by force; he collected all the Latins, and ſettled himſelf with them in Lebanon, where they formed a ſociety independent both with reſpect to its civil and religious government. This is related by an Hiſtorian of the Lower Empire in the following words: "In the eighth year

"of

" of the reign of Conſtantine Pogonatus, " (A. D. 676), the Mardaites, collecting " themſelves together, took poſſeſſion of " Lebanon, which became the aſylum of " vagabonds, ſlaves, and all ſort of rabble. " They grew ſo powerful there, as to ſtop " the progreſs of the Arabs, and to compel " the Caliph Moawia to requeſt of the Greeks " a truce for thirty years, obliging himſelf " to pay a tribute of fifty horſes, one " hundred ſlaves, and ten thouſand pieces " of gold *(e)*."

The name of Mardaites, here uſed by this Author, is derived from a Syriac word, ſignifying Rebel, and is oppoſed to *Melkites*, or Royaliſts, which proves both that the Syriac was ſtill in uſe at that time, and that the ſchiſm which rent the empire was as much civil as religious. Beſides, it appears that the origin of the two factions, and the exiſtence of an inſurrection in theſe countries, were prior to theſe times, for, from the firſt ages of Mahometaniſm (A. D. 622), mention is made of petty independent princes, one of whom, named Youſeph, was ſovereign of Djebail;

(*e*) Cedrenus.

and

and the other, called Kefrou, governed the interior parts of the country, which, from him, took the name of *Kefraouen*. We read likewife of another who made an expedition againſt Jeruſalem, and died at a very advanced age at Beſkonta *(f)*, where he reſided. Thus, before Conſtantine Pogonatus, theſe mountains were become the refuge of malecontents, or rebels, who fled from the bigotry of the Emperors and their governors. It was doubtleſs for this reaſon, and from a ſimilarity in their opinions, that John and his diſciples took refuge there; and it was from the aſcendancy they acquired, or already poſſeſſed, that the whole nation took the name of Maronites, which was leſs diſgraceful than that of Mardaites. Be this as it may, John, having eſtabliſhed order and military diſcipline among the Mountaineers, having provided them with arms and leaders, they employed their liberty in combating the common enemies of the empire, and their little ſtate, and, preſently, became maſters of almoſt all the mountains as far as Jeruſalem. The ſchiſm which took place at this juncture among the Mahometans facilitated their conqueſts. Moawia rebelling

*(f)* A village of Kefraouan.

againſt Ali at Damaſcus, Caliph a Koufa, found himſelf obliged, in order to avoid being engaged in two wars at once, to make, in 678, a diſadvantageous treaty with the Greeks. Seven years after, Abd-el-Malek renewed it with Juſtinian II. on condition, however, that the Emperor ſhould free him from the Maronites. To this propoſal, Juſtinian had the imprudence to conſent, and was baſe enough to get their chief aſſaſſinated by an ambaſſador, whom the too generous man had received into his houſe without ſuſpicion of treachery. After this murder, the ſame agent ſucceeded ſo well by his intrigues that he perſuaded twelve thouſand inhabitants to quit their country, leaving a free paſſage to the Mahometan arms. Soon after another perſecution menaced the Maronites with total ruin; for the ſame Juſtinian ſent troops againſt them under Marcian and Mauritius, who deſtroyed the monaſtery of Hama, and maſſacred five hundred monks, after which they carried the war quite into Keſraouan; but, happily, at this moment, Juſtinian was depoſed, when on the point of cauſing a general maſſacre in Conſtantinople; and the Maronites, authorized by his ſucceſſor, falling upon Maurice, cut his

his army to pieces in an engagement in which he himſelf periſhed. From this period we loſe ſight of them till the invaſion of the Cruſaders, with whom they were ſometimes in alliance, and ſometimes at variance. In this interval, of more than three centuries, they loſt part of their poſſeſſions, and were reduced to their preſent limits, paying tribute, no doubt, as often as the Arabian or Turkman governors were able to compel them. This was the caſe with the Caliph of Egypt, Hakem-Bámr-Ellah, who, about the year 1014, ceded their territory to a Turkman, Prince of Aleppo. Two hundred years after, Selah-el-din having driven out the Europeans from this country, they were obliged to ſubmit to his power, and purchaſe peace by contributions. At this period, that is about the year 1215, the Maronites effected a reunion with Rome, from which they never were widely ſeparated, and which ſtill ſubſiſts. William of Tyre, who relates this, obſerves, that they had forty thouſand men able to bear arms. The peace they enjoyed under the Mamlouks was diſturbed by Selim the Second, but this prince, occupied by more important obiects, did not take the trouble to ſubject

them. This negligence emboldened them; and, in concert with the Druzes, and their Emir, the celebrated Faker-el-din, they made daily encroachments on the Ottomans; but theſe commotions had an unfortunate iſſue; for Amurath the Third, ſending againſt them Ibrahim, Pacha of Cairo, that General reduced them to obedience, in 1588, and ſubjected them to the annual tribute they ſtill pay.

Since that period, the Pachas, deſirous of extending their authority and extortions, have frequently attempted to introduce their garriſons and Agas into the mountains of the Maronites; but being conſtantly repulſed, they have been compelled to abide by their treaties. The ſubjection of the Maronites therefore only conſiſts in the payment of a tribute to the Pacha of Tripoli, of whom they hold their country, which he annually farms out to one or more Shaiks *(g)*, that is to ſay, perſons of eminence and property, who aſſign their reſpective ſhares to the diſ-

*(g)* In the mountains, the word Shaik ſignifies, properly, a man of property, or country gentleman.

tricts

tricts and villages. This impoſt is levied, chiefly, on the Mulberry-trees and vineyards, which are the principal, and almoſt the ſole objects of culture. It varies according to the ſeaſons, and the reſiſtance they can make to the Pacha. Cuſtomhouſes are eſtabliſhed likewiſe in the maritime towns, ſuch as Djebail, and Batroun; but the produce of theſe is but inconſiderable.

The form of government is not founded on any expreſs convention, but merely on uſages and cuſtoms. This inconvenience would, doubtleſs, long ere this, have produced diſagreeable effects, but for the intervention of many fortunate circumſtances. The principal of theſe is religion, which, placing an inſurmountable barrier between the Maronites and the Mahometans, has prevented ambitious men from leaguing themſelves with foreigners to enſlave their countrymen. The ſecond is the nature of the country, which, every where affording ſtrong defences, enables every village, and almoſt every family, to oppoſe, by its ſingle force, all uſurpation of ſovereign power. A third reaſon may be derived even from the weakneſs of this ſociety, which, having always been ſurrounded by powerful

powerful enemies, has only been able to reſiſt them by maintaining union among its members, which union can only exiſt by abſtaining from oppreſſing each other, and by reciprocally guarding the ſafety of each others perſon and property. Thus the government preſerves itſelf in a natural equilibrium, and, cuſtoms ſupplying the place of laws, the Maronites are, to this day, equally ſtrangers to the oppreſſion of deſpotiſm, and the diſorders of anarchy.

The nation may be conſidered as divided into two claſſes; the common people and the Shaiks, by which muſt be underſtood the moſt eminent of the inhabitants, who, from the antiquity of their families, and the opulence of their fortunes, are ſuperior to the ordinary claſs. They all live diſperſed in the mountains, in villages, hamlets, and even detached houſes; which is never the caſe in the plains. The whole nation conſiſts of cultivators. Every man improves the little domain he poſſeſſes, or farms, with his own hands. Even the Shaiks live in the ſame manner, and are only diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a bad Peliſs, a horſe, and a few ſlight advantages in food and lodging: they all live frugally,

frugally, without many enjoyments, but alſo with few wants, as they are little acquainted with the inventions of luxury. In general, the nation is poor, but no one wants neceſſaries; and if beggars are ſometimes ſeen, they come rather from the ſea-coaſt than the country itſelf. Property is as ſacred among them as in Europe, nor do we ſee there thoſe robberies and extortions ſo frequent with the Turks. Travellers may journey there, either by night or day, with a ſecurity unknown in any other part of the empire, and the ſtranger it received with hoſpitality, as among the Arabs; it muſt be owned, however, that the Maronites are leſs generous, and rather inclined to the vice of parſimony. Conformably to the doctrines of Chriſtianity, they have only one wife, whom they eſpouſe frequently, without having ſeen, and, always, without having been much in her company. Contrary to the precepts of that ſame religion, however, they have admitted, or retained, the Arab cuſtom of retaliation, and the neareſt relation of a murdered perſon is bound to avenge him. From a habit founded on diſtruſt, and the political ſtate of the country, every one, whether Shaik, or peaſant, walks continually

armed with a muſket and poniards. This is, perhaps, an inconvenience; but this advantage reſults from it, that they have no novices in the uſe of arms among them, when it is neceſſary to employ them againſt the Turks. As the country maintains no regular troops, every man is obliged to join the army in time of war, and if this militia were well conducted, it would be ſuperior to many European armies. From accounts taken in late years, the number of men, fit to bear arms, amounts to thirty-five thouſand. According to the uſual mode of computation, this would imply a population of about a hundred and five thouſand ſouls; and, if we add the prieſts, monks, and nuns, diſperſed in upwards of two hundred convents, and the inhabitants of the maritime towns, ſuch as Djebail, Batroun, &c. we cannot ſuppoſe it leſs than a hundred and fifteen thouſand.

This number, compared with the extent of the country, which is about a hundred and fifty leagues ſquare, gives ſeven hundred and ſixty inhabitants for each ſquare league; which will not appear a ſmall population, when we conſider that great part of

Lebanon conſiſts only of barren rocks, and that the ſoil, even where it can be cultivated, produces very little.

In religious matters, the Maronites are dependent on Rome. Though they acknowledge the ſupremacy of the Pope, their clergy continue, as heretofore, to elect a head, with the title of Batrak, or patriarch of Antioch. Their prieſts marry, as in the firſt ages of the church; but their wives muſt be maidens, and not widows, nor can they marry a ſecond time. They celebrate maſs in Syriac, of which the greateſt part of them comprehend not a word. The goſpel, alone, is read aloud in Arabic, that it may be underſtood by the people. The communion is adminiſtered in both kinds. The Hoſt is a ſmall round loaf, unleavened, of the thickneſs of a finger, and ſomething larger than a crown piece. On it is the impreſſion of a ſeal, which is eaten by the prieſt, who cuts the remainder into ſmall pieces, and, putting them into the cup, adminiſters to each perſon with a ſpoon which ſerves every body. Theſe prieſts have not, as among us, benefices or ſtated revenues; but they ſubſiſt on the produce of their maſſes,

maſſes, the bounty of their hearers, and the labour of their hands. Some of them exerciſe trades, others cultivate a ſmall piece of land, and all are induſtriouſly employed, for the maintenance of their families, and the edification of their flock. Their poverty is recompenſed by the great reſpect which is paid them; their vanity is inceſſantly flattered; whoever approaches them, whether rich or poor, great or ſmall, is anxious to kiſs their hands, which they fail not to preſent; nor are they pleaſed that the Europeans withhold this mark of reverence, ſo repugnant to our manners, though not thought humiliating by the natives, who are accuſtomed to it from their infancy. In other reſpects, the ceremonies of the Catholic religion are not performed more publicly, or with leſs reſtraint, in Europe than in the Keſraouan. Each village has its chapel and its prieſt, and each chapel its bell: a thing unheard of in any other part of Turkey. The Maronites are vain of this privilege, and that they may not be deprived of it, will not ſuffer a Mahometan to live among them. They aſſume to themſelves, alſo, the privilege of wearing the

Green Turban, which, except in their territories, would coſt a Chriſtian his life.

Italy itſelf has not more biſhops than this little corner of Syria; they here ſtill retain the ſimplicity of the primitive ages; and may be often met on the roads, mounted on a mule, and followed by a ſingle Sacriſtan. The greater part of them live in convents, where their food and dreſs does not differ from that of the other monks; nor does their uſual revenue exceed fifteen hundred livres, (about ſixty-three pounds) which, in this country, where every article of life is cheap, enables them to live comfortably. They, as well as the prieſts, are choſen from the claſs of monks; and are generally elected for their pre-eminence in learning, which is not difficult to acquire, ſince the bulk of the monks and prieſts know nothing but the catechiſm and the bible. It is nevertheleſs remarkable, that theſe two ſubordinate claſſes are more amiable in their manners, and live more edifying lives; while the biſhops and the patriarch, on the contrary, conſtantly engaged in cabals, diſputes of precedency, and religious diſtinctions, throw the whole country into commotion. Under pretext of exerciſing

exerciſing eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, according to the ancient rules of the church, they mutually excommunicate each other, and their reſpective adherents; they ſuſpend prieſts, interdict the monks, and inflict public penance on the laity; in a word, they have retained the turbulent and intriguing ſpirit, which was the ſcourge of the Lower Empire. The court of Rome, frequently embarraſſed by their diſputes, ſtrives to pacify them, in order to preſerve the only aſylum of her power remaining in theſe countries. It is not long ſince ſhe was obliged to interpoſe in a ſingular affair, an account of which may give ſome idea of the character of the Maronites.

About the year 1735, there was, in the neighbourhood of the Jeſuit Miſſionaries, a Maronite girl, named Hendia, whoſe extraordinary mode of life began to attract the attention of the people. She faſted, wore the hair-cloth, poſſeſſed the gift of tears; and, in a word, had all the exterior of the ancient hermits, and ſoon acquired a ſimilar reputation. Every body conſidered her as a model of piety, and many eſteemed her a ſaint. From ſuch a reputation to miracles the

tranſition is very eaſy, and, in fact, it was ſoon reported that ſhe worked miracles. To have a proper conception of the effects of this report, we muſt not forget that the ſtate of mens minds, in Lebanon, is nearly the ſame as in the earlieſt ages. There were neither infidels therefore, nor wits, nor even doubters. Hendia availed herſelf of this enthuſiaſm for the completion of her deſigns; and, imitating the conduct of her predeceſſors in the ſame career, ſhe wiſhed to become the foundreſs of a new order. In vain does the human heart endeavour to conceal its paſſions, they are invariably the ſame; nor does the conqueror differ from the monk; both are alike actuated by ambition and the luſt of power; and the pride of pre-eminence diſplays itſelf even in the exceſs of humility. To build the convent, money was neceſſary; the foundreſs ſolicited the pious charity of her followers, whoſe contributions were ſo abundant as to enable her, in a few years, to erect two vaſt ſtone houſes, which could not have coſt leſs than one hundred and twenty thouſand livres (five thouſand pounds). They are called the Kourket, and are ſituated on the ridge of a hill, to the north-weſt of Antoura, commanding,

commanding, to the weſt, a view of the ſea, which is very near, and an extenſive proſpect, to the ſouth, as far as the road of Bairout, which is four leagues diſtant. The Kourket ſoon filled with monks and nuns. The Patriarch for the time being was director-general, other employments, of various kinds, were conferred on the different prieſts and candidates, to whom one of theſe houſes was allotted. Every thing ſucceeded as well as could have been wiſhed; it is true that many of the nuns died, but this was imputed to the air, and the real cauſe was not eaſy to be diſcovered. Hendia had reigned over her little kingdom near twenty years, when an unforeſeen accident threw every thing into confuſion. A factor, travelling from Damaſcus to Bairout, in the ſummer, was overtaken by night, near this convent: the gates were ſhut, the hour unſeaſonable; and, as he did not wiſh to give any trouble, he contented himſelf with a bed of ſtraw, and laid himſelf down in the outer court, waiting the return of day. He had only ſlept a few hours, when a ſudden noiſe of doors and bolts awaked him. From one of the doors came out three women, with ſpades and ſhovels in their

their hands; who were followed by two men, bearing a long white bundle, which appeared very heavy. They proceeded towards an adjoining piece of ground, full of ſtones and rubbiſh, where the men depoſited their load, dug a whole into which they put it, and, covering it with earth, trod it down with their feet, after which they all returned to the houſe. The ſight of men with nuns, and this bundle, thus myſteriouſly buried by night, could not but furniſh matter of reflection to the traveller. Aſtoniſhment, at firſt, kept him ſilent, but, to this, anxiety and fear ſoon ſucceeded; he, therefore, haſtily ſet off for Barout at break of day. In this town he was acquainted with a merchant, who, ſome months before, had placed two of his daughters in the Kourket, with a portion of about four hundred pounds. He went in ſearch of him, ſtill heſitating, yet burning with impatience to relate his adventure. They ſeated themſelves croſs-legged, the long pipe was lighted, and coffee brought. The Merchant then proceeded to enquire of his viſitor concerning his journey, who anſwered, he had paſſed the night near the Kourket. This produced freſh queſtions, to which he replied by

by further particulars, and, at length, no longer able to contain himſelf, whiſpered to his hoſt what he had ſeen. The merchant was greatly ſurprized, the circumſtance of burying the bundle alarmed him: and the more he conſidered it the more his uneaſineſs increaſed. He knew that one of his daughters was ill, and could not but remark that a great many nuns died. Tormented with theſe thoughts, he knows not how either to admit or reject the diſmal ſuſpicions they occaſion; he mounts his horſe, and, accompanied by a friend, they repair together to the convent, where he aſks to ſee his daughters;---He is told they are ſick; he inſiſts they ſhall be brought to him; this is angrily refuſed: and the more he perſiſts, the more peremptory is the refuſal, till, his ſuſpicions are converted into certainty. Leaving the convent, in an agony of deſpair, he went to Dair-el-Kamar; and laid all the circumſtances before Saad, Kiaya *(g)* of prince Youſef, chief of the mountain. The Kiaya was greatly aſtoniſhed, and ordered a body of horſe to accompany him, and, if refuſed

(*g*) The title of the miniſter of theſe petty princes.

admiſſion,

admiſſion, to force the convent; the Kadi took part with the merchant, and the affair was referred to the law; the ground where the bundle had been buried was opened, and a dead body found, which the unhappy father diſcovered to be that of his youngeſt daughter: the other was found confined in the convent, and almoſt dead. She revealed a ſcene of ſuch abominable wickedneſs, as makes human nature ſhudder, and to which, ſhe, like her ſiſter, was about to fall a victim. The pretended ſaint, being ſeized, acted her part with firmneſs; and a proſecution was commenced againſt the prieſts and the patriarch. The enemies of the latter united to effect his ruin, in order to ſhare his ſpoils, and he was ſuſpended, and depoſed. The affair was removed to Rome in 1776, and the ſociety *de Propaganda*, on examination, diſcovered the moſt infamous ſcenes of debauchery, and the moſt horrible cruelties. It was proved that Hendia procured the death of the nuns, ſometimes to get poſſeſſion of their property, and at others, becauſe they would not comply with her deſires: that this infamous woman not only communicated, but even conſecrated the hoſt, and ſaid maſs: that ſhe had holes under her

her bed, by which perfumes were introduced at the moment ſhe pretended to be in extacy, and under the influence of the Holy Ghoſt; that ſhe had a faction who cried her up, and publiſhed that ſhe was the mother of God, returned upon earth, and a thouſand other extravagancies. Notwithſtanding this, ſhe retained a party powerful enough to prevent the ſevere puniſhment ſhe merited. She has been ſhut up in different convents, from whence ſhe has frequently eſcaped. In 1783, ſhe was preſent at the viſitation of Antoura, and the brother of the Emir of the Druzes was deſirous to give her her liberty. Numbers ſtill believe in her ſanctity; and, but for the accident of the traveller, her preſent enemies would not have doubted it. What muſt we think of reputations for piety, when they may depend on ſuch trifling circumſtances!

In the ſmall country of the Maronites there are reckoned upwards of two hundred convents for men and women. Theſe Religious are of the order of St. Anthony, whoſe rules they obſerve with an exactneſs which reminds us of earlier times. The dreſs of the monks is made of brown coarſe woollen ſtuff,

and

and reſembles that of the capuchin friars in Europe. Their food is the ſame as that of the peaſants, with this exception, that they never eat fleſh. They obſerve frequent faſts, and make long prayers at ſtated hours in the night, as well as the day; the remainder of their time is employed in cultivating the earth, or breaking the rocks to form the walls of the terraces which ſupport their vineyards and mulberry plantations. Each convent has a brother ſhoemaker, a brother taylor, a brother, weaver, a brother baker; in a word, an artiſt of every neceſſary trade. We almoſt always find a convent of women cloſe to one of men; yet it is rare to hear of any ſcandalous report. Theſe women themſelves lead a very laborious life, and it is this activity, doubtleſs, which ſecures them againſt all the miſchiefs attendant on idleneſs. So far, therefore, from being injurious to population, we may affirm that theſe convents have contributed to promote it, by increaſing by culture every article in a proportion greater than its conſumption. The moſt remarkable of the houſes of the Maronite Monks is Koz-haia, ſix hours journey to the eaſt of Tripoli. There they exorciſe, as in the firſt ages of the church, thoſe who are

ſtill

poſſeſſed with devils; for ſuch perſons are ſtill to be found in theſe countries. A very few years ago, our merchants at Tripoli ſaw one of them who put the patience and learning of the monks to the proof: This man, to outward appearance healthy, was ſubject to ſudden convulſions, which threw him into a kind of madneſs, ſometimes ſullen, at others violent. He tore, he bit, he foamed at the mouth; his uſual expreſſion was,---*The ſun is my mother, let me adore her.* The prieſts almoſt drowned him with ablutions, tormented him with faſting and prayer, and, at length, as they reported, drove out the devil; but, from the account given me by more intelligent obſervers, it appears that thoſe poſſeſſed are no other than perſons afflicted with idiotſy, madneſs, and epilepſies; and it is worth remarking, that *poſſeſſion* and *epilepſy* are denoted by the ſame Arabic word *(h)*.

The Court of Rome, in affiliating the Maronites, has granted them an Hoſpitium, at Rome, to which they may ſend ſeveral of their youth, to receive a gratuitous education. It ſhould ſeem that this inſtitution might introduce among them the ideas and arts of Eu-

(*h*) *Kabal* and *Kabat*. The *K* here is the *Spaniſh jota*.

rope;

rope; but the pupils of this ſchool, limited to an education purely monaſtic, bring home nothing but the Italian language, which is of no uſe, and a ſtock of theological learning, from which as little advantage can be derived; they accordingly ſoon aſſimilate with the reſt. Nor has a greater change been operated by the three or four miſſionaries maintained by the French capuchins at Gazir, Tripoli, and Bairout. Their labours conſiſt in preaching in their church, in inſtructing children in the catechiſm, Thomas a Kempis, and the Pſalms, and in teaching them to read and write. Formerly the Jeſuits had two miſſionaries at their houſe at Antoura, and the Lazarites have now ſucceeded them in their miſſion. The moſt valuable advantage that has reſulted from theſe apoſtolical labours is, that the art of writing has become more common among the Maronites, and rendered them, in this country, what the Copts are in Egypt, I mean, they are in poſſeſſion of all the poſts of writers, intendants, and kiayas among the Turks, and eſpecially of thoſe among their allies and neighbours, the Druzes.

4. SECT.

## SECT. III.

### *Of the Druzes.*

THE Druzes, or Derouz, who engaged the attention of Europe about the end of the ſixteenth century, are an inconſiderable people, who, in their mode of life, form of government, language, and cuſtoms, bear a ſtriking reſemblance to the Maronites. Religion conſtitutes the principal difference between them. That of the Druzes was long a problem; but the myſtery is at length unveiled, and it is now not difficult to give a tolerably accurate account of it, as well as of their origin, with which it is connected. To gain a proper idea of their hiſtory, it will be neceſſary to trace facts up to their firſt ſources.

Twenty-three years after the death of Mahomet, the diſputes between Ali, his ſon-in-law, and Moawia, Governor of Syria, occaſioned the firſt ſchiſm in the empire of the Arabs, and the two ſects ſubſiſt to this day; but, in reality, this difference related only to power; and the Mahometans, however divided in opinion reſpecting the rightful ſucceſſor of

the prophet, were agreed with reſpect to their dogmas *(i)*. It was not until the following century that the peruſal of Greek books in-

*(i)* The radical cauſe of this great difference was the averſion conceived againſt Ali, by Ayeſha, wife of Mahomet, becauſe, as it is ſaid, he had diſcovered her infidelity to the Prophet. She never could pardon him this indiſcretion, and, after getting him three times excluded from the Califat, finding that, by his intrigues he was likely to ſucceed in the fourth attempt, ſhe reſolved to deſtroy him by open violence. For this purpoſe ſhe excited againſt him ſeveral Arab chiefs, and among others, Amrou, Governor of Egypt, and Moawia, Governor of Syria. The latter procured himſelf to be proclaimed *Caliph*, or *Succeſſor*, in the city of Damaſcus. Ali, in order to diſpoſſeſs him, declared war; but the impropriety of his conduct ruined his affairs. After ſome hoſtilities, in which the advantages were equal on both ſides, he periſhed at Koufa, by the hand of an Aſſaſſin or Batenian. His partizans elected his ſon Hoſain in his place; but this young man, ill adapted to ſuch difficult circumſtances, was ſlain in a rencounter by the partiſans of Moawi. His death rendered the two factions ſtill more irreconcileable. Their hatred prevented their agreeing in the expoſition of the Koran. The doctors of the reſpective parties took a pleaſure in contradicting each other; and hence aroſe the diviſion of the Mahometans into two ſects, who conſider each other as heretics. The Turks follow that of Omar and Moawia, whom they hold to be the legitimate ſucceſſors of the Prophet: the Perſians are followers of Ali.

troduced among the Arabs a ſpirit of diſcuſſion and controverſy, to which, till then, they were utter ſtrangers. The conſequence was, as might be expected, by reaſoning on matters not ſuſceptible of demonſtration, and guided by the abſtract principles of an unintelligible logick, they divided into a multitude of ſects and opinions. At this period, too, the civil power loſt its authority, and religion, which from that derives the means of preſerving its unity, ſhared the ſame fate, and the Mahometans now experienced what had before fallen the Chriſtians. The nations which had received the religion of Mahomet, mixed with it their former abſurd notions; and the errors which had anciently prevailed over Aſia, again made their appearance, though altered in their forms. The Metempſychoſis, the doctrine of a good and evil principle, and the renovation after ſix thouſand years, as it had been taught by Zoroaſter, were again revived among the Mahometans. In this political and religious confuſion, every enthuſiaſt became an apoſtle, and every apoſtle the head of a ſect. No leſs than ſixty of theſe were reckoned, remarkable for the numbers of their followers, all differing in ſome points of faith,

and all diſavowing hereſy and error. Such was the ſtate of theſe countries, when at the commencement of the eleventh century, Egypt became the theatre of one of the moſt extravagant ſcenes of enthuſiaſm and abſurdity ever recorded in hiſtory. The following account is extracted from the Eaſtern writers.

In the year of the Hejira, 386 (A. D. 996) the third Caliph, of the race of the Fatmites, called Hakem-b'amr-ellah, ſucceeded to the throne of Egypt, at the age of eleven years. He was one of the moſt extraordinary princes of whom hiſtory has preſerved the memory. He cauſed the firſt Caliphs, the companions of Mahomet, to be curſed in the moſques, and afterwards revoked the anathema: He compelled the Jews and Chriſtians to abjure their religion, and then permitted them to reſume it. He prohibited the making ſlippers for women, to prevent them from coming out of their houſes. He burnt one half of the city of Cairo for his diverſion, while his ſoldiers pillaged the other. Not contented with theſe extravagant actions, he forbade the pilgrimage to Mecca, faſting, and the five prayers; and at length carried his madneſs ſo far as to deſire to paſs for God himſelf. He ordered a regiſter

regiſter of thoſe who acknowledged him to be ſo, and the number amounted to ſixteen thouſand. This impious pretenſion was ſupported by a falſe prophet, who came from Perſia into Egypt; which impoſtor, named Mohammed-ben-Iſmael, taught that it was not neceſſary to faſt or pray, to practiſe circumciſion, to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, or obſerve feſtivals; that the prohibition of pork and wine was abſurd; and that marriage between brothers and ſiſters, fathers and children was lawful. To ingratiate himſelf with Hakem, he maintained that this Caliph was God himſelf incarnate; and, inſtead of his name *Hakem-b'amr-ellah*, which ſignifies, governing by the order of God, he called him *Hakem-b'amr-eh*, governing by his own order. Unluckily for the prophet, his new god had not the power to protect him from the fury of his enemies, who ſlew him in a tumult, almoſt in the arms of the Caliph, who was himſelf maſſacred ſoon after on Mount Mokattam, where he, as he ſaid, had held converſation with angels *(k)*.

*(k)* Vide El-Makin, Hiſt. Saracen. Lib. I.

The death of these two chiefs did not prevent the progress of their opinions: A disciple of Mohammad-ben-Ismael, named Hamza-ben-Ahmud, propagated them with an indefatigable zeal in Egypt, in Palestine, and along the coast of Syria, as far as Sidon and Berytus. His proselytes, it seems, underwent the same fate as the Maronites; for, being persecuted by the sect in power, they took refuge in the mountains of Lebanon, where they were better able to defend themselves; at least it is certain, that, shortly after this era, we find them established there, and forming an independent society, like their neighbours.

The difference of their opinions disposes them to be enemies, but the urgent interest of their common safety forces them to allow mutual toleration, and they have always appeared united, and have jointly opposed, at different times, the Crusaders, the Sultans of Aleppo, the Mamlouks, and the Ottomans. The conquest of Syria by the latter, made no change in their situation. Selim I. on his return from Egypt, meditating no less than the conquest of Europe, disdained to waste his time before the rocks of Lebanon.

Soliman

Soliman II. his ſucceſſor, inceſſantly engaged in important wars, either with the Knights of Rhodes, the Perſians, the kingdom of Yemen, the Hungarians, the Germans, or the Emperor Charles V. had no time to think of the Druzes. Emboldened by this inattention, and not content with their independence, they frequently deſcended from their mountains to pillage the Turks. The Pachas in vain attempted to repel their inroads; their troops were invariably routed or repulſed; and it was not till the year 1588 that Amurath III. wearied wth the complaints made to him, reſolved, at all events, to reduce theſe rebels, and had the good fortune to ſucceed. His general, Ibrahim Pacha, marched from Cairo, and attacked the Druzes and Maronites with ſo much addreſs and vigour as to force them into their ſtrong holds, the mountains. Diſſention took place among their chiefs, of which he availed himſelf to exact a contribution of upwards of one million of piaſters, and to impoſe a tribute which has continued to the preſent time.

It appears that this expedition was the epocha of a conſiderable change in the conſtitution of the Druzes. Till then they had

lived in a ſort of anarchy, under the command of different Shaiks, or Lords. The nation was likewiſe divided into two factions, ſuch as is to be found in all the Arab tribes, and which are diſtinguiſhed into the party *Kaiſi*, and the party *Yamani*. (*l*) To ſimplify the adminiſtration, Ibrahim permitted them only one Chief, who ſhould be reſponſible for the tribute, and execute the office of civil magiſtrate; and this governor, from the nature of his ſituation, acquiring great authority, became almoſt the king of the republic; but as he was always choſen from among the Druzes, a conſequence followed which the Turks had not foreſeen, and which was nearly fatal to their power. For the chief thus choſen, having at his diſpoſal the whole ſtrength of the nation, was able to give it unanimity and force, and it naturally turned againſt the Turks; ſince the Druzes, by becoming their ſubjects, had not ceaſed to be their enemies. They took care, however, that their attacks ſhould be indirect, ſo as to ſave appearances, and only engaged in ſecret hoſtili-

(*l*) Theſe factions diſtinguiſh themſelves by the colour of their flags; that of the Kaiſis is red, that of the Yaminis white.

ties,

ties, more dangerous, perhaps, than open war.

About this time, that is the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, the power of the Druzes attained its greateſt height; which it owed to the talents and ambition of the celebrated Emir Fakr-el-din, commonly called Fakardin. No ſooner was this prince advanced to be Chief of that people than he turned his whole attention to humble the Ottoman power, and aggrandize himſelf at its expence; in this enterprize he diſplayed an addreſs ſeldom ſeen among the Turks. He firſt gained the confidence of the Porte, by every demonſtration of loyalty and fidelity; and as the Arabs, at that time, infeſted the plain of Balbec, and the countries of Sour and Acre, he made war upon them, freed the inhabitants from their depredations, and thus rendered them deſirous of living under his government.

The city of Bairout was ſituated advantageouſly for his deſigns, as it opened a communication with foreign countries, and, among others, with the Venetians, the natural enemies of the Turks. Fakr-el-din availed himſelf of the miſconduct of the Aga, expelled

led him, ſeized on the city, and even had the art to make a merit of this act of hoſtility with the Divan, by paying a more conſiderable tribute. He proceeded in the ſame manner at Saide, Balbec, and Sour, and, at length, about the year 1613, ſaw himſelf maſter of all the country, as far as Adjaloun and Safad. The Pachas of Tripoli and Damaſcus could not ſee theſe encroachments with indifference; ſometimes they oppoſed him with open force, though ineffectually, and ſometimes endeavoured to ruin him at the Porte, by ſecret inſinuations; but the Emir, who maintained there his ſpies and defenders, defeated every attempt.

At length, however, the Divan began to be alarmed at the progreſs of the Druzes, and made preparations for an expedition capable of cruſhing them. Whether from policy or fear, Fakr-el-din did not think proper to wait this ſtorm. He had formed connections in Italy, on which he built great hopes, and determined to go in perſon to ſolicit the ſuccours they had promiſed him; perſuaded that his preſence would encreaſe the zeal of his friends, while his abſence might appeaſe the reſentment of his enemies. He therefore embarked

barked at Bairout, and, after reſigning the adminiſtration to his ſon Ali, repaired to the court of the Medici, at Florence. The arrival of an Oriental prince in Italy, did not fail to attract the public attention. Enquiry was made into his nation, and the origin of the Druzes became popular topics of reſearch. Their hiſtory and religion were found to be ſo little known, as to leave it a matter of doubt whether they ſhould be claſſed with the Mahometans or Chriſtians. The Cruſades were called to mind, and it was ſoon ſuggeſted that a people who had taken refuge in the mountains, and were enemies to the natives, could be no other than the offſpring of the Cruſaders.

This idle conceit was too favourable to Fakr-el-din for him to endeavour to diſprove it: he was artful enough, on the contrary, to pretend he was related to the houſe of Lorraine; and the miſſionaries and merchants, who promiſed themſelves a new opening for converſions and commerce, encouraged his pretenſions. When an opinion is in vogue, every one diſcovers new proofs of its certainty. The learned in etymology, ſtruck with the reſemblance of the names, inſiſted,

inſiſted, that *Druzes* and *Dreux* muſt be the ſame word, and, on this foundation, formed the ſyſtem of a pretended colony of French Cruſaders, who under the conduct of a Comte *de Dreux*, had formed a ſettlement in Lebanon. This hypotheſis, however, has been compleatly overthrown, by the remark that the name of the Druzes is to be found in the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled before the time of the Cruſades. Indeed the futility of it ought to have been ſufficiently apparent, at firſt, from the ſingle conſideration, that had they been deſcended from any nation of the Franks, they muſt have retained, at leaſt, the traces of ſome European language; for a people, retired into a ſeparate diſtrict, and living diſtinct from the natives of the country, do not loſe their language. That of the Druzes, however, is very pure Arabic, without a ſingle word of European origin. The real derivation of the name of theſe people has been long in our poſſeſſion, without our knowing it. It originates from the founder of the ſect of Mohammad-ben-Iſmael, who was ſurnamed El-Dorzi, and not *El-Darari*, as it is uſually printed: the confuſion of theſe two words, ſo unlike in our writing,

writing, ariſes from the figure of the two Arabic letters *r* and *z*, which have only this difference, that the *z* has a point over it, frequently omitted, or effaced in the manuſcripts *(m)*.

After a ſtay of nine years in Italy, Fakr-el-din returned to reſume the government of his country. During his abſence, his ſon Ali had repulſed the Turks, appeaſed diſcontents, and maintained affairs in tolerable good order. Nothing remained for the Emir, but to employ the knowledge he could not but have acquired, in perfecting the internal adminiſtration of government, and promoting the welfare of the nation; but inſtead of the uſeful and valuable arts, he wholly abandoned himſelf to the frivolous and expenſive, for which he had imbibed a paſſion while in Italy. He built numerous villas; conſtructed baths, and planted gar-

(*m*) This diſcovery is due to M. Mitchel, Dragoman, *Barataire* † of France, at Saide, of which place he was a native: he has written a memoir on the Druzes, of which he gave one of the two copies he had to the Chevalier de Taulès, Conſul at Saide, and the other to Baron de Tott when he was there, in 1777, to inſpect that factory.

† *Barataire*, is a ſubject of the Turkiſh government, privileged by one of the European Miniſters, in amity with the Porte, and by that means placed upon a footing with the Franks, with reſpect to the payment of duties, &c. Each Miniſter poſſeſſes a certain number of theſe *Barats* at his diſpoſal, which he cannot exceed T.

dens

dens; he even preſumed, without reſpect to the prejudices of his country, to employ the ornaments of painting and ſculpture, notwithſtanding theſe are prohibited by the Koran.

The conſequences of this conduct ſoon manifeſted themſelves: the Druzes, who paid the ſame tribute as in time of war, became diſſatisfied. The Yamini faction were rouſed; the people murmured at the expences of the prince; and the luxury he diſplayed renewed the jealouſy of the Pachas. They attempted to levy greater tribute: hoſtilities again commenced, and Fakr-el-din repulſed the forces of the Pachas, who took occaſion, from this reſiſtance, to render him ſuſpected by the Sultan himſelf. Amurath III. incenſed that one of his ſubjects ſhould dare to enter into a competition with him, reſolved on his deſtruction; and the Pacha of Damaſcus received orders to march, with all his forces, againſt Bairout, the uſual reſidence of Fakr-el-din; while forty galleys inveſted, and entirely blocked it up, by ſea.

The Emir, who depended on his good fortune, and ſuccours from Italy, determined at firſt to brave the ſtorm. His ſon, Ali, who com-

commanded at Safad, was ordered to oppoſe the progreſs of the Turkiſh army, and in fact he bravely reſiſted them, notwithſtanding the great diſparity of his forces; but after having repulſed the enemy in two engagements, being ſlain in a third, the face of affairs were greatly changed, and every thing went to ruin. Fakr-el-din, terrified at the loſs of his troops, afflicted at the death of his ſon, and enfeebled by age and a voluptuous life, loſt both courage and preſence of mind. He no longer ſaw any reſource but in a peace, which he ſent his ſecond ſon to ſolicit of the Turkiſh Admiral, whom he attempted to ſeduce by preſents; but the Admiral, detaining both the preſents and the Envoy, declared he would have the prince himſelf. Fakr-el-din, intimidated, took to flight, and was purſued by the Turks, now maſters of the country. He took refuge on the ſteep eminence of Niha, where they beſieged him ineffectually for a whole year, when they left him at liberty: but, ſhortly after, the companions of his adverſity, wearied with their ſufferings, betrayed and delivered him up to the Turks. Fakr-el-din, though in the hands of his enemies, conceived hopes of pardon, and ſuffered himſelf

to be carried to Conſtantinople, where Amurath, pleaſed to behold at his feet a prince ſo celebrated, at firſt treated him with that benevolence which ariſes from the pride of ſuperiority; but ſoon returning to his former jealouſies, yielded to the inſtigations of his courtiers, and, in one of his violent fits of paſſion, ordered him to be ſtrangled, about the year 1631.

After the death of Fakr-el-din, the poſterity of that prince ſtill continued in poſſeſſion of the Government, though at the pleaſure, and as vaſſals, of the Turks. This family failing in the male-line, at the beginning of the preſent century, the authority devolved, by the election of the Shaiks, on the houſe of Shehab, in which it ſtill continues. The only Emir of that houſe, whoſe name deſerves to be preſerved, is the Emir Melhem, who reigned from 1740 to 1759; in which interval he retrieved the loſſes of the Druzes, and reſtored them to that conſequence which they had loſt by the defeat of Fakr-el din. Towards the end of his life, about the year 1754, Melhem, wearied with the cares of Government, abdicated his authority, to live in religious retirement, after the manner of

the Okkals; but the troubles that ſucceeded occaſioned him once more to reſume the reins of government, which he held till 1759, when he died, univerſally regretted.

He left three ſons, minors: the eldeſt of whom ought, according to the cuſtom of the country, to have ſucceeded him; but being only eleven years of age, the authority devolved on his uncle, Manſour, agreeable to a law very general in Aſia, which wills the people to be governed by a ſovereign who has arrived at years of maturity. The young prince was but little fitted to maintain his pretenſions; but a Maronite, named Sad-el-Kouri, to whom Melhem had entruſted his education, took this upon himſelf. Aſpiring to ſee his pupil a powerful prince, that he might himſelf become a powerful viſir, he made every exertion to advance his fortune. He firſt retired with him to Djebail, in the Keſraouan, where the Emir Youſef poſſeſſed large domains, and there undertook to conciliate the Maronites, by embracing every opportunity to ſerve both individuals and the nation. The great revenues of his pupil, and the moderation of his expenditure, amply furniſhed him with the means. The farm of

the Kefraouan was divided between ſeveral Shaiks, with whom the Porte was not very well ſatisfied. Sad treated for the whole with the Pacha of Tripoli, and got himſelf appointed ſole Receiver. The Motoualis of the valley of Balbec had, for ſome years before, made ſeveral encroachments on Lebanon, and the Maronites began to be alarmed at the near approach of theſe intolerant Mahometans. Sad purchaſed of the Paçha of Damaſcus a permiſſion to make war upon them, and, in 1763, drove them out of the country. The Druzes were at that time divided into two factions *(n)*: Sad united his intereſt with thoſe who oppoſed Manſour, and ſecretly prepared the plot which was to raiſe the nephew on the ruin of the uncle.

At this period, the Arab Daher, who had made himſelf maſter of Galilee, and fixed his reſidence at Acre, diſquieted the Porte by his progreſs and pretenſions: To oppoſe him, the Divan had juſt united the Pachalics of Damaſcus, Saide, and Tripoli, in the hands of

(*n*) The party *Kaiſi*, and the party *Yamani*. The names borne at this day by the two families which are at the head of the *Djambela*, and of the *Leſbecks*.

Oſman

Oſman and his children; and it was evident, that an open war was not very remote. Manſour, who dreaded the Turks too much to reſiſt them, made uſe of the policy uſual on ſuch occaſions, pretending a zeal for their ſervice, while he ſecretly favoured their enemy. This was a ſufficient motive for Sad to purſue meaſures directly oppoſite. He ſupported the Turks againſt the faction of Manſour, and manœuvred with ſo much good fortune or addreſs as to depoſe that Emir, in 1770, and place Youſef in his Government.

In the following year, Ali Bey declared war, and attacked Damaſcus. Youſef, called on by the Turks, took part in the quarrel, but without being able to draw the Druzes from their mountains, to enter into the army of the Ottomans. Beſides their natural repugnance, at all times, to make war out of their country, they were, on this occaſion, too much divided at home to quit their habitations, and they had reaſon to congratulate themſelves on the event. The battle of Damaſcus enſued, and the Turks, as we have already ſeen, were compleatly routed. The Pacha of Saide, eſcaping from this defeat,

and not thinking himſelf in ſafety in that town, ſought an aſylum even in the houſe of the Emir Youſef. The moment was unfavourable, but the face of affairs ſoon changed, by the flight of Mohammad Bey. The Emir, concluding that Ali Bey was dead, and not imagining that Daher was powerful enough ſingly to maintain the quarrel, declared openly againſt him. Saide was threatened with a ſiege, and he detached fifteen hundred men of his faction to its defence; while himſelf, in perſon, prevailing on the Druzes and Maronites to follow him, made an incurſion, with twenty-five thouſand peaſants, into the valley of Bekaa, and, in the abſence of the Motoualis, who had joined the army of Daher, laid the whole country waſte, with fire and ſword, from Balbec to Tyre.

While the Druzes, proud of this exploit, were marching in diſorder towards the latter city, five hundred Motoualis, informed of what had happened, flew from Acre, enflamed with rage and deſpair, and fell with ſuch impetuoſity on their army, as to give them a compleat overthrow. Such was the ſurpriſe and confuſion of the Druzes, that, imagining themſelves attacked by Daher himſelf, and betrayed

betrayed by their companions, they turned their ſwords on each other as they fled. The ſteep declivities of Djezin, and the pine-woods which were in the route of the fugitives, were ſtrewed with dead, but few of whom periſhed by the hands of the Motoualis.

The Emir Youſef, aſhamed of this defeat, eſcaped to Dair-el-Kamar, and, ſhortly after, attempted to take revenge; but, being again defeated in the plain between Saide and Sour, (Tyre), he was conſtrained to reſign, to his uncle Manſour, the ring, which, among the Druzes, is the ſymbol of authority. In 1773, he was reſtored by a new revolution; but he could not ſupport his power but at the expence of a civil war. In order, therefore, to prevent Bairout falling into the hands of the adverſe faction, he requeſted the aſſiſtance of the Turks, and demanded, of the Pacha of Damaſcus, a man of ſufficient abilities to defend that city. The choice fell on an adventurer, who, from his ſubſequent fortune, and the part he is now acting, merits to be made known.

This man, named Ahmad, is a native of Boſnia, and ſpeaks the Sclavonian as his mo-

ther tongue, as the Raguſan captains, with whom he converſes in preference to thoſe of every other nation, aſſert. It is ſaid, that flying from his country, at the age of ſixteen, to eſcape the conſequences of an attempt to violate his ſiſter-in-law, he repaired to Conſtantinople, where, deſtitute of the means of procuring a ſubſiſtence, he ſold himſelf to the ſlave-merchants, to be conveyed to Egypt; and, on his arrival at Cairo, was purchaſed by Ali Bey, who placed him among his Mamlouks.

Ahmad was not long in diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his courage and addreſs. His patron employed him on ſeveral occaſions, in dangerous coups de main, ſuch as the aſſaſſination of ſuch Beys and Cachefs as he ſuſpected; of which commiſſions he acquitted himſelf ſo well as to acquire the name of *Djezzar*, which ſignifies *Cut-throat (a)*. With this claim to his friendſhip, he enjoyed the favour of Ali, until it was diſturbed by an accident.

(a) This Djezzar is the monſter ſo well deſcribed by Baron de Tott, in Part IV. of his Memoirs. The Baron tranſlates the word Djezzar, Butcher.---He was in the beginning of 1787 in open revolt againſt the Porte. T.

This

This jealous Bey, having proſcribed one of his benefactors, called Saleh Bey, commanded Djezzar to cut off his head. Either from humanity or ſome ſecret friendſhip for the devoted victim, Djezzar heſitated, and even remonſtrated againſt the order. But, learning the next day that Mahommad Bey had executed the commiſſion, and that Ali had ſpoken of him not very favourably, he thought himſelf a loſt man, and, to avoid the fate of Saleh Bey, eſcaped unobſerved, and reached Conſtantinople. He there ſolicited employments ſuitable to his former rank, but meeting, as is uſual in capitals, with a great number of rivals, he purſued another plan, and went to ſeek his fortune in Syria, as a private ſoldier. Chance conducted him among the Druzes, where he was hoſpitably entertained, even in the houſe of the Kiaya of the Emir Youſef. From thence he repaired to Damaſcus, where he ſoon obtained the title of Aga, with a command of five *pair of colours*, that is to ſay, of fifty men; and he was thus ſituated when fortune deſtined him to the Government of Bairout.

Djezzar was no ſooner eſtabliſhed there, than he took poſſeſſion of it for the Turks.

Youſef was confounded at this proceeding. He demanded juſtice at Damaſcus; but finding his complaints treated with contempt, entered into a treaty with Daher, and concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with him, at Ras-el-aen, near to Sour. No ſooner was Daher united with the Druzes than he laid ſiege to Bairout, by land, whilſt two Ruſſian frigates, whoſe ſervice was purchaſed by ſix hundred purſes, cannonaded it by ſea. Djezzar was compelled to ſubmit to force, and, after a vigorous reſiſtance, gave up the city, and ſurrendered himſelf priſoner. Shaik Daher, charmed with his courage, and flattered with the preference he had given him in the ſurrender, conducted him to Acre, and ſhewed him every mark of kindneſs. He even ventured to truſt him with a ſmall expedition into Paleſtine; but Djezzar, on approaching Jeruſalem, went over to the Turks, and returned to Damaſcus.

The war of Mohammad Bey breaking out, Djezzar offered his ſervice to the Captain Pacha, and gained his confidence. He accompanied him to the ſiege of Acre, and that admiral, having deſtroyed Daher, and finding no perſon more proper than Djezzar

to

to accompliſh the deſigns of the Porte in that country, named him Pacha of Saide.

Being now, in conſequence of this revolution, ſuperior Lord to the Emir Youſef, Djezzar is mindful of injuries in proportion as he has reaſon to accuſe himſelf of ingratitude. By a conduct truly Turkiſh, feigning alternately gratitude and reſentment, he is alternately on terms of diſpute and reconciliation with him, continually exacting money as the price of peace, or as indemnity for war. His artifices have ſucceeded ſo well that, within the ſpace of five years, he has extorted from the Emir four millions of French money, (above a hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds), a ſum the more aſtoniſhing as the farm of the country of the Druzes did not then amount to one hundred thouſand livres, (four thouſands pounds.)

In 1784, he made war on him, depoſed him, and beſtowed the government on the Emir of the country of Haſbeya, named Iſmael. Youſef, having once more purchaſed his favor, returned, towards the end of the ſame year, to Dair-el-Kamar, and even courted his confidence ſo far as to wait on him at Acre, from whence nobody expected him to return, but

Djezzar

Djezzar is too cunning to ſhed blood while there are any hopes of getting money: he releaſed the prince, and ſent him back with every mark of friendſhip. Since that period, the Porte has named him Pacha of Damaſcus, where he now reſides. There, ſtill retaining the Sovereignty of the Pachalic of Acre, and of the country of the Druzes, he has ſeized on Sad, the Kiaya of the Emir, and, under pretext of his being the author of the troubles, has threatened to ſtrike off his head. The Maronites, alarmed for the ſafety of this man, whom they revere, have offered nine hundred purſes for his ranſom. The Pacha demands a thouſand; and if, as will probably be the caſe, their money be exhauſted by theſe repeated contributions, woe to the prince and his miniſter! on their fate depends that of many others; and, indeed, they may be ſaid to have deſerved it, for it was the incapacity of the one, and the ambition of the other, which, by inviting the Turks to interfere in the affairs of the Druzes, has given ſo fatal a blow to the ſafety and tranquillity of the nation; that, in the ordinary courſe of things, it will be long before it can poſſibly

poſſibly recover its former proſperity and power.

Let us return to the religion of the Druzes. What has been already ſaid of the opinions of Mahommad-ben-Iſmael may be regarded as the ſubſtance of it. They practiſe neither circumciſion, nor prayers, nor faſting; they obſerve neither feſtivals, nor prohibitions. They drink wine, eat pork, and allow marriage between brothers and ſiſters, though not between fathers and children. From this we may conclude, with reaſon, that the Druzes have no religion: yet, one claſs of them muſt be excepted, whoſe religious cuſtoms are very peculiar. Thoſe who compoſe it are to the reſt of the nation what the *initiated* were to the *profane*; they aſſume the name of *Okkals*, which means ſpiritualiſts, and beſtow on the vulgar the epithet of *Djahel*, or ignorant; they have various degrees of initiation, the higheſt orders of which require celibacy. Theſe are diſtinguiſhable by the White Turban they affect to wear as a ſymbol of their purity; and ſo proud are they of this ſuppoſed purity, that they think themſelves ſullied by even touching a profane perſon. If you eat out of

of their plate, or drink out of their cup, they break them; and hence the cuſtom, ſo general in this country, of uſing vaſes, with a ſort of cock, which may be drank out of without touching them with the lips. All their practices are enveloped in myſteries: their Oratories always ſtand alone, and are conſtantly ſituated on eminences: in theſe they hold their ſecret aſſemblies, to which women are admitted. It is pretended they perform ceremonies there in preſence of a ſmall ſtatue reſembling an ox or a calf; whence ſome have pretended to prove that they are deſcended from the Samaritans. But, beſides that the fact is not well aſcertained, the worſhip of the ox may be deduced from other ſources.

They have one or two books which they conceal with the greateſt care; but chance has deceived their jealouſy; for, in a civil war, which happened ſix or ſeven years ago, the Emir Youſef, who is *Djahel*, or ignorant, found one among the pillage of one of their oratories. I am aſſured, by perſons who have read it, that it contains only a myſtic jargon, the obſcurity of which, doubtleſs, renders it valuable to adepts. Hakem Bamr-ellah is there ſpoken of, by whom they mean

mean God, incarnated in the perſon of the Caliph. It likewiſe treats of another life, of a place of puniſhment, and a place of happineſs, where the Okkals ſhall, of courſe, be moſt diſtinguiſhed. Several degrees of perfection are mentioned, to which they arrive by ſucceſſive trials. In other reſpects, theſe ſectaries have all the inſolence, and all the fears, of ſuperſtition: they are not communicative, becauſe they are weak; but it is probable that, were they powerful, they would be promulgators and intolerant.

The reſt of the Druzes, ſtrangers to this ſpirit, are wholly indifferent about religious matters. The Chriſtians, who live in their country, pretend that ſeveral of them believe in the Metempſychoſis; that others worſhip the ſun, moon, and ſtars, all which is poſſible; for, as among the Anſarians, every one, left to his own choice, follows the opinion that pleaſes him moſt; and theſe opinions are thoſe which preſent themſelves moſt naturally to unenlightened minds. When among the Turks, they affect the exterior of Mahometans, frequent the Moſques, and perform their ablutions and prayers. Among the Maronites, they accompany them to church,

church, and, like them, make uſe of holy water. Many of them, importuned by the miſſionaries, ſuffer themſelves to be baptized; and, if ſolicited by the Turks, receive circumciſion, and conclude by dying neither Chriſtians nor Mahometans; but they are not ſo indifferent in matters of civil policy *(p)*.

(*p*) The above account of the *Druzes* correſponds exactly with the *Hiſtorical Memoir* on that people, tranſlated from the manuſcript of M. *Venture de Paradis*, which contains *extracts* from their *ſacred books*, *a catechiſm*, &c. The Memoir in queſtion, confirms the accuracy of our Author, who had never ſeen it, nor was acquainted with M. Venture. The latter gentleman and M. Suguſte, a moſt amiable man, and a well informed traveller in the eaſt, who have juſt done the tranſlator the honour of a viſit, concur in beſtowing the higheſt commendations on the preſent work, and do not heſitate to pronounce it the moſt accurate modern book that has appeared reſpecting Syria and Egypt. To their eulogium may be added the diſtinguiſhed approbation of M. de St. Prieſt, the late Ambaſſador of the Court of France and Conſtantinople, which he has expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms. T.

SECT.

## SECT. IV.

### *Of the government of the Druzes.*

THE Druzes, as well as the Maronites, may be divided into two claſſes, the common people, and the people of eminence and property, diſtinguiſhed by the title of Shaiks, and Emirs, or deſcendants of Princes. The greater part are cultivators, either as Farmers or proprietors; every man lives on his inheritance, improving his mulberry-trees and vineyards; in ſome diſtricts they grow tobacco, cotton, and ſome grain, but the quantity of theſe is inconſiderable. It appears that, at firſt, all the lands were, as formerly in Europe, in the hands of a ſmall number of families. But, to render them productive, the great proprietors were forced to ſell part of them, and let leaſes, which ſubdiviſion is become the chief ſource of the power of the ſtate by multiplying the number of perſons intereſted in the public weal: there ſtill exiſts, however, ſome traces of the original inequality, which even at this day produces pernicious effects. The great property poſſeſſed by ſome families,

gives them too much influence in all the meaſures of the nation; and their private intereſts have too great weight in every public tranſaction. Their hiſtory, for ſome years back, affords ſufficient proofs of this; ſince all the civil or foreign wars in which they have been engaged have originated in the ambition and perſonal views of ſome of the principal families, ſuch as the Leſbeks, the Djambelats, the Iſmaels of Solyma, &c. The Shaiks of theſe houſes, who alone poſſeſs one tenth part of the country, procured creatures by their money, and, at laſt, involved all the Druzes in their diſſenſions. It muſt be owned, however, that, poſſibly, to this conflict between contending parties the whole nation owes the good fortune of never having been enſlaved by its chief.

This chief, called *Hakem*, or governor, alſo Emir, or Prince, is a ſort of king, or general, who unites in his own perſon the civil and military powers. His authority is ſometimes tranſmitted from father to ſon, ſometimes from one brother to another, and the ſucceſſion is determined rather by force than any certain laws. Females can in no caſe pretend to ſucceed to this dignity. They are already

excluded from ſucceſſion in civil affairs, and, conſequently, can ſtill leſs expect it in political. In general, the Aſiatic governments are too turbulent, and their adminiſtration renders military talents too neceſſary to admit of the ſovereignty of women. Among the Druzes, the male line of any family being extinguiſhed, the government devolves to him who is in poſſeſſion of the greateſt number of ſuffrages and reſources. But the firſt ſtep is to obtain the approbation of the Turks, of whom he becomes the vaſſal and tributary. It even happens, that, not unfrequently to aſſert their ſupremacy, they name the Hakem, contrary to the wiſhes of the nation, as in the caſe of Iſmael Haſbeya, raiſed to that dignity by Djezzar; but this conſtraint laſts no longer than it is maintained by that violence which gave it birth. The office of the governor is to watch over the good order of the ſtate, and to prevent the Emirs, Shaiks, and villages, from making war on each other; in caſe of diſobedience, he may employ force. He is alſo at the head of the civil power, and names the Cadis, only, always reſerving to himſelf the power of life and death. He collects the tribute, from which, he annually

pays to the Pacha a ſtated ſum. This tribute varies, in proportion as the nation renders itſelf more or leſs formidable. At the beginning of this century, it amounted to one hundred and ſixty purſes, (eight thouſand three hundred and thirty pounds), but Melhem forced the Turks to reduce it to ſixty. In 1784, Emir Youſef paid eighty and promiſed ninety. This tribute, which is called *Miri*, is impoſed on the mulberry-trees, vineyards, cotton, and grain. All ſown land, pays in proportion to its extent; every foot of mulberries is taxed at three Medins, or three Sols, nine Deniers, (not quite two-pence). A hundred feet of vineyard, pays a Piaſter, or forty Medins, and freſh meaſurements are often made, to preſerve a juſt proportion. The Shaiks and Emirs have no exemption in this reſpect, and it may be truly ſaid, they contribute to the public ſtock in proportion to their fortune. The collection is made almoſt without expence. Each man pays his contingent at Dair-el-Kamar, if he pleaſes, or to the collectors of the prince, who make a circuit round the country, after the crop of ſilks. The ſurplus of this tribute is for the prince, ſo that it is his intereſt to reduce the

demands of the Turks, as it would be likewiſe to augment the impoſt; but this meaſure requires the ſanction of the Shaiks, who have the privilege of oppoſing it. Their conſent is neceſſary, likewiſe, for peace and war. In theſe caſes, the Emir muſt convoke general aſſemblies, and lay before them the ſtate of his affairs. There, every Shaik, and every Peaſant, who has any reputation for courage or underſtanding, is entitled to give his ſuffrage; ſo that this government may be conſidered as a well-proportioned mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy. Every thing depends on circumſtances: if the governor be a man of ability, he is abſolute; if weak, a cypher. This proceeds from the want of fixed laws; a want common to all Aſia, and the radical cauſe of all the diſorders in the governments of the Aſiatic nations.

Neither the chief, nor the individual Emirs, maintain troops; they have only perſons attached to the domeſtic ſervice of their houſes, and a few black ſlaves. When the nation makes war, every man, whether Shaik or Peaſant, able to bear arms, is called upon to march. He takes with him a little bag of

flour, a muſquet, ſome bullets, a ſmall quantity of powder, made in his village, and repairs to the rendezvous appointed by the governor. If it be a civil war, as ſometimes happens, the ſervants, the farmers, and their friends, take up arms for their patron, or the chief of their family, and repair to his ſtandard. In ſuch caſes, the parties irritated, frequently ſeem on the point of proceeding to the laſt extremities; but they ſeldom have recourſe to acts of violence, or attempt the death of each other; mediators always interpoſe, and the quarrel is appeaſed the more readily, as each patron is obliged to provide his followers with proviſions and ammunition. This ſyſtem, which produces happy effects in civil troubles, is attended with great inconvenience in foreign wars, as ſufficiently appeared in that of 1784. Djezzar, who knew that the whole army was maintained at the expence of the Emir Youſef, aimed at nothing but delay, and the Druzes, who were not diſpleaſed at being fed for doing nothing, prolonged the operations; but the Emir, wearied of paying, concluded a treaty, the terms of which were not a little rigorous for him, and, eventually, for the whole nation, ſince nothing is more certain

tain than that the intereſts of a prince and his ſubjects are always inſeparable.

The ceremonies to which I have been a witneſs on theſe occaſions, bear a ſtriking reſemblance to the cuſtoms of ancient times. When the Emir and the Shaiks had determined on war, at Dair-el-Kamar, cryers, in the evening, aſcended the ſummits of the mountain; and there began to cry with a loud voice: *To war, to war; take your guns, take your piſtols; noble Shaiks, mount your horſes; arm yourſelves with the lance and ſabre; rendezvous to-morrow at Dair-el-Kamar. Zeal of God! Zeal of combats!* This ſummons heard in the neighbouring villages, was repeated there, and, as the whole country is nothing but a chain of lofty mountains, and deep vallies, the proclamation paſſed in a few hours to the frontiers. Theſe voices, from the ſtillneſs of the night, the long reſounding echoes, and the nature of the ſubject, had ſomething awful and terrible in their effect. Three days after, fifteen thouſand armed men rendezvouzed at Dair-el-Kamar, and operations might have been immediately commenced.

We may eaſily imagine that troops of this kind no way reſemble our European ſoldiers; they have neither uniforms, nor diſcipline, nor order. They are a crowd of peaſants with ſhort coats, naked legs, and muſkets in their hands; differing from the Turks and Mamlouks, in that they are all foot; the Shaiks and Emirs alone having horſes, which are of little uſe from the rugged nature of the country. War there can only be a war of poſts. The Druzes never riſk themſelves in the plain, and with reaſon, for they would be unable to ſtand the ſhock of cavalry, having no bayonets to their muſkets. Their whole art conſiſts in climbing rocks, and creeping among the buſhes and blocks of ſtone, from whence their fire is the more dangerous; as they are covered, fire at their eaſe, and by hunting, and military ſports, have acquired the habit of hitting a mark with great dexterity. They are accuſtomed to ſudden inroads, ſurpriſes by night, ambuſcades, and all thoſe *coups de main*, which require to attack ſuddenly, and come to cloſe fight with the enemy. Ardent in improving their ſucceſs, eaſily diſpirited, and prompt to reſume their courage;

courage; daring even to temerity, and ſometimes ferocious, they poſſeſs above all, two qualities eſſential to the excellency of any troops; they ſtrictly obey their leaders, and are endowed with a temperance and vigour of health, at this day unknown to moſt civilized nations. In the campaign of 1784, they paſſed three months in the open air, without tents, or any other covering than a ſheep-ſkin; yet were there not more deaths or maladies than if they had remained in their houſes. Their proviſions conſiſted, as at other times, of ſmall loaves baked on the aſhes, or on a brick, raw onions, cheeſe, olives, fruits, and a little wine. The table of the chiefs was almoſt as frugal, and we may affirm, that they ſubſiſted a hundred days, on what the ſame number of Engliſhmen or Frenchmen would not have lived ten. They have no knowledge of the ſcience of fortification, the management of artillery, or encampments, nor, in a word, any thing which conſtitutes the art of war. But, had they among them a few perſons verſed in military ſcience, they would readily acquire its principles, and become a formidable ſoldiery. This would be the more eaſily effected, as their mulberry plantations and

vineyards do not occupy them all the year, and they could afford much time for military exercises *(p)*.

By the last estimates, it appears the number of men able to bear arms was forty thousand, which supposes a total population of a hundred and twenty thousand: no addition is to be made to this calculation, since there are no Druzes in the cities or on the coast. As the whole country contains only one hundred and ten square leagues, there results for every league, one thousand and ninety persons; which is equal to the population of our richest provinces. This will appear more remarkable, when we consider that the soil is not fertile, that a great many eminences remain uncultivated, that they do not grow corn enough to support themselves three months in the year, that they have no manufactures, and that all their exportations are confined to silks and cottons, the balance of which exceeds very little the importation of corn from the Hauran, the oils of Palestine, and the rice

(*p*) In this leisure time, when the gathering of the silk is over in Lebanon, a great number of Peasants, as is usual among those of the Limousin in France, leave the mountains to get in the harvests in the plains,

and

and coffee they procure from Baiout.—Whence ariſes then ſuch a number of inhabitants, within ſo ſmall a ſpace? I can diſcover no other cauſe, than that ray of liberty which glimmers in this country. Unlike the Turks, every man lives in a perfect ſecurity of his life and property. The peaſant is not richer than in other countries; but he is free, "he fears not," as I have often heard them ſay, "that the Aga, the Kaimma-"kam, or the Pacha, ſhould ſend their "Djendis *(q)*, to pillage his houſe, carry off "his family, or give him the baſtinado." Such oppreſſions are unknown among theſe mountains. Security, therefore, has been the original cauſe of population, from that inherent deſire which all men have to multiply themſelves wherever they find an eaſy ſubſiſtence. The frugality of the nation, which is content with little, has been a ſecondary, and not leſs powerful reaſon; and a third, is the emigration of a number of Chriſtian families, who daily deſert the Turkiſh provinces to ſettle in Mount Lebanon, where they are received with open arms by the

(*q*) Soldiers.

Maronites,

Maronites, from ſimilarity of religion, and by the Druzes from principles of toleration, and a conviction how much it is the intereſt of every country to multiply the number of its cultivators, conſumers, and allies. They all live quietly together; but I cannot help adding, that the Chriſtians frequently diſplay an indiſcreet and meddling zeal, too well calculated to diſturb this tranquillity.

The compariſon which the Druzes often have an opportunity of making, between their ſituation and that of other ſubjects of the Turkiſh Government, has given them an advantageous opinion of their ſuperiority, which, by a natural effect, has an influence on their perſonal character. As they are not expoſed to the violence and inſults of deſpotiſm, they conſider themſelves as more perfect than their neighbours, becauſe they have the good fortune not to be equally debaſed. Hence they acquire a character more elevated, energetic, and active; in ſhort, a genuine republican ſpirit. They are conſidered throughout the Levant as reſtleſs, enterpriſing, hardy, and brave even to temerity. Only three hundred of them have been ſeen to enter Damaſcus in open day, and ſpread around them terror

and

and carnage. It is remarkable, that though their form of Government is nearly ſimilar, the Maronites do not poſſeſs theſe qualities to the ſame degree. Enquiring the reaſon, one day, in a company where this obſervation was made, in conſequence of ſome recent events, an old Maronite, after a moment's ſilence, taking his pipe from his mouth, and curling his beard round his fingers, made anſwer, "Perhaps the Druzes would be more afraid "of death, did they believe in a future ſtate." Nor are they great preachers of that morality which conſiſts in pardoning injuries. No people are more nice than they with reſpect to the point of honour: Any offence of that kind, or open inſult, is inſtantly puniſhed by blows of the kandjar or the muſquet; while among the inhabitants of the towns, it only excites injurious retorts. This delicacy has occaſioned, in their manners and diſcourſe, a reſerve, or, if you will, a politeneſs, which one is aſtoniſhed to diſcover among peaſants. It is carried even to diſſimulation and falſehood, eſpecially among the chiefs, whoſe greater intereſts demand greater attentions. Circumſpection is neceſſary to all, from the formidable conſequences of that retaliation

of

of which I have ſpoken. Theſe cuſtoms may appear barbarous to us; but they have the merit of ſupplying the deficiency of regular juſtice, which is neceſſarily tedious and uncertain in theſe diſorderly and almoſt anarchical Governments.

The Druzes have another point of honour: that of hoſpitality. Whoever preſents himſelf at their door in the quality of a ſuppliant or paſſenger, is ſure of being entertained with lodging and food, in the moſt generous and unaffected manner. I have often ſeen the loweſt peaſants give the laſt morſel of bread they had in their houſes to the hungry traveller; and when I obſerved to them that they wanted prudence, their anſwer was, "God is liberal and great, and all men are "brethren." There are, therefore, no inns in this country, any more than in the reſt of Turkey. When they have once contracted with their gueſt, the ſacred engagement of *bread* and *ſalt*, no ſubſequent event can make them violate it: Various inſtances of this are related, which do honour to their character. A few years ago, an Aga of the Janiſſaries, having been engaged in a rebellion, fled from Damaſcus, and retired among the Druzes.

Druzes. The Pacha was informed of this, and demanded him of the Emir, threatening to make war on him in caſe of refuſal. Th Emir demanded him of the Shaik Talhouk, who had received him; but the indignant Shaik replied, "When have you known the "Druzes deliver up their gueſts? Tell the "Emir, that, as long as Talhouk ſhall pre-"ſerve his beard, not a hair of the head of "his ſuppliant ſhall fall!" The Emir threatened him with force; Talhouk armed his family. The Emir, dreading a revolt, adopted a method practiſed as juridical in that country. He declared to the Shaik, that he would cut down fifty mulberry-trees a day, until he ſhould give up the Aga. He proceeded as far as a thouſand, and Talhouk ſtill remained inflexible. At length, the other Shaiks, enraged, took up the quarrel, and the commotion was about to become general, when the Aga, reproaching himſelf with being the cauſe of ſo much miſchief, made his eſcape, without the knowledge even of Talhouk *(r)*.

The

*(r)* I have found in an Arabic manuſcript, another anecdote, which, though foreign to my preſent ſubject, I think too excellent to be omitted.

"In

The Druzes have alſo the prejudices of the Bedouins reſpecting birth; like them, they pay great reſpect to the antiquity of families; but this produces no eſſential inconveniencies. The nobility of the Emirs and Shaiks does not exempt them from paying tribute, in proportion to their revenues. It confers on them no prerogatives, either in the attainment of landed property, or public employments. In this country, no more than in all Turkey, are

" In the time of the Caliphs, ſays the Author, when Abdalah, the *ſhedder of blood*, had murdered every deſcendant of Ommiah, within his reach, one of that family named Ibrahim, the ſon of Soliman, ſon of Abd-el-Malek, had the good fortune to eſcape, and reach Kouſa, which he entered in diſguiſe. Knowing no perſon in whom he could confide, he ſat down under the portico of a large houſe. Soon after, the maſter, arriving, followed by ſeveral ſervants, alighted from his horſe, entered, and, ſeeing the ſtranger, aſked him who he was. I am an unfortunate man, replies Ibrahim, and requeſt from thee an aſylum. God protect thee, ſaid the rich man; enter, and remain in peace. Ibrahim lived ſeveral months in this houſe, without being queſtioned by his hoſt. But, aſtoniſhed to ſee him every day go out on horſeback, and return, at the ſame hour, he ventured one day to enquire the reaſon—I have been informed, replied the rich man, that a perſon named Ibrahim, the ſon of Soliman, is concealed in this town; he has ſlain my father, and I am

ſearching

are they acquainted with game-laws, or glebes, or ſeigniorial, or eccleſiaſtical tithes, franc fiefs or alienation fines; every thing is held, as I have ſaid, in freehold: Every man, after paying his miri and his rent, is maſter of his property. In ſhort, by a particular privilege, the Druzes and Maronites pay no fine for their ſucceſſion; nor does the Emir, like the Sultan, arrogate to himſelf original and uni-

" ſearching for him to retaliate.---Then I knew, ſaid Ibra-
" him, that God had purpoſely conducted me to that
" place; I adored his decree, and, reſigning myſelf to
" death, I anſwered,---God has determined to avenge thee,
" offended man; thy victim is at thy feet. The rich man,
" aſtoniſhed, replied,---O! ſtranger! I ſee thy misfortunes
" have made thee weary of life; thou ſeekeſt to loſe it,
" but my hand cannot commit ſuch a crime.---I do not
" deceive thee, ſaid Ibrahim; thy father was ſuch a one;
" we met each other in ſuch a place, and the affair hap-
" pened in ſuch and ſuch a manner. A violent trembling
" then ſeized the rich man; his teeth chattered, his eyes
" alternately ſparkled with fury, and overflowed with
" tears. In this agitation, he remained a long time; at
" length, turning to Ibrahim---To-morrow, ſaid he, de-
" ſtiny ſhall join thee to my father, and God will have re-
" taliated. But as for me, how can I violate the ſacred
" laws of hoſpitality? Wretched ſtranger, fly from my
" preſence! There, take theſe hundred ſequins: Begone
" quickly, and let me never behold thee more!"

verſal

verſal property: there exiſts, nevertheleſs, in the law of inheritance, an imperfection which produces diſagreeable effects. Fathers have, as in the Roman law, the power of preferring ſuch of their children as they think proper; hence it has happened, in ſeveral families of the Shaiks, that the whole property has centered in the ſame perſon, who has perverted it to the purpoſe of intriguing and caballing, while his relations remain, as they well expreſs it, *princes of olives and cheeſe*; that is to ſay, poor as peaſants.

In conſequence of their prejudices, the Druzes do not chooſe to make alliances out of their own families. They invariably prefer their relation, though indigent, to a rich ſtranger; and poor peaſants have been known to refuſe their daughters to merchants of Saide and Bairout, who were worth twelve or fifteen thouſand piaſtres. They obſerve alſo, to a certain degree, the cuſtom of the Hebrews, which directed that a brother ſhould eſpouſe his brother's widow; but this is not peculiar to them, for they retain that as well as ſeveral other cuſtoms of that ancient people, in common with other inhabitants of Syria, and all the Arab tribes.

In ſhort, the proper and diſtinguiſhing character of the Druzes, is, as I have ſaid, a ſort of republican ſpirit, which gives them more energy than any other ſubjects of the Turkiſh government, and an indifference for religion, which forms a ſtriking contraſt with the zeal of the Mahometans and Chriſtians. In other reſpects, their private life, their cuſtoms and prejudices, are the ſame with other Orientals. They may marry ſeveral wives, and repudiate them when they chuſe; but, except by the Emir, and a few men of eminence, that is rarely practiſed. Occupied with their rural labours, they experience neither artificial wants, nor thoſe inordinate paſſions, which are produced by the idleneſs of the inhabitants of cities and towns. The veil, worn by their women, is of itſelf a preſervative againſt thoſe deſires which are the occaſion of ſo many evils in ſociety. No man knows the face of any other woman than his wife, his mother, his ſiſter, and ſiſter-in-law. Every one lives in the boſom of his own family, and goes little abroad. The women, thoſe even of the Shaiks, make the bread, roaſt the coffee, waſh the linen, cook the victuals, and perform all domeſtic offices. The men cultivate their

lands and vineyards, and dig canals for watering them. In the evening they ſometimes aſſemble in the court, the area, or houſe of the chief of the village or family. There, ſeated in a circle, with legs croſſed, pipes in their mouths, and poniards at their belts, they diſcourſe of their various labours, the ſcarcity or plenty of their harveſts, peace or war, the conduct of the Emir, or the amount of the taxes; they relate paſt tranſactions, diſcuſs preſent intereſts, and form conjectures on the future. Their children, tired with play, come frequently to liſten; and a ſtranger is ſurpriſed to hear them, at ten or twelve years old, recounting, with a ſerious air, why Djezzar declared war againſt the Emir Youſef, how many purſes it coſt that prince, what augmentation there will be of the miri, how many muſkets there were in the camp, and who had the beſt mare. This is their only education. They are neither taught to read the Pſalms, as among the Maronites, nor the Koran, like the Mahometans; hardly do the Shaiks know how to write a letter. But if their minds be deſtitute of uſeful or agreeable information, at leaſt, they are not pre-occupied by falſe and hurtful ideas; and,

without

without doubt, ſuch natural ignorance is well worth all our artificial folly. This advantage reſults from it, that their underſtandings being nearly on a level, the inequality of conditions is leſs perceptible. For, in fact, we do not perceive among the Druzes that great diſtance which, in moſt other ſocieties, degrades the inferior, without contributing to the advantage of the great. All, whether Shaiks or peaſants, treat each other with that rational familiarity, which is equally remote from rudeneſs and ſervility. The Grand Emir, himſelf, is not a different man from the reſt: he is a good country gentleman, who does not diſdain admitting to his table the meaneſt farmer. In a word, their manners are thoſe of ancient times, and that ruſtic life, which marks the origin of every nation; and prove the people among whom they are ſtill found, are, as yet, only in the infancy of the ſocial ſtate.

## SECT. IV.

### *Of the Motoualis.*

TO the eaſt of the country of the Druzes, in the deep valley which ſeparates their mountains from thoſe of Damaſcus, we find another ſmall nation, known in Syria by the name of Motoualis. The characteriſtic diſtinction between them and the other inhabitants of Syria, is, that they, like the Perſians, are of the ſect of Ali, while all the Turks follow that of Omar or Moawia. This diſtinction, occaſioned by the ſchiſm, which, in the thirty-ſixth year of the Hejira, aroſe among the Arabs, reſpecting the ſucceſſors of Mahomet, is the cauſe, as I have already obſerved, of an irreconcileable hatred between the two parties. The ſectaries of Omar, who conſider themſelves as the only orthodox, aſſume the title of *Sonnites*, which has that ſignification, and term their adverſaries *Shiites*, that is *Sectaries*, (of Ali). The word *Motouali* has the ſame meaning in the dialect of Syria. The followers of Ali, diſſatisfied

diſſatisfied with this name, ſubſtitute that of *Adlia*, which means aſſerters of *Juſtice*, literally *Juſticiarians*, a denomination which they have aſſumed in conſequence of a doctrinal point they advance in oppoſition to the Sonnite faith. A ſmall Arabic treatiſe, entitled, *Theological Fragments concerning the Sects and Religions of the world (s)*, has the following paſſage.

" Thoſe ſectaries who teach that God " acts only on principles of juſtice, conform- " able to human reaſon, are called Adlia, or " Juſticiarians. God cannot, ſay they, com- " mand an impracticable worſhip, nor or- " dain impoſſible actions, nor enjoin men to " perform what is beyond their ability; but " wherever he requires obedience, will be- " ſtow the power to obey. He removes the " cauſe of evil, he allows us to reaſon, and " impoſes only what is eaſy, not what is dif- " ficult; he makes no man reſponſible for " the actions of another, nor puniſhes him " for that in which he has no part; he im- " putes not as a crime what himſelf has " created in man; nor does he require " him to avoid what deſtiny has decreed.

(s) Abarat el Motkallamin fi mazaheb wa Dianat el Donia.

" This would be injuſtice and tyranny, of " which God is incapable from the perfec- " tion of the divine nature." To this doctrine, which diametrically oppoſes the ſyſtem of the Sonnites, the Motoualis add certain ceremonies which increaſe their mutual averſion. They curſe Omar and Moawia as rebels and uſurpers; and celebrate Ali and Hoſain as ſaints and martyrs. They begin their ablutions at the elbow, inſtead of the end of the finger, as is cuſtomary with the Turks; they think themſelves defiled by the touch of ſtrangers, and, contrary to the general practice of the Eaſt, neither eat nor drink out of a veſſel which has been uſed by a perſon not of their ſect, nor will they even ſit with ſuch at the ſame table.

Theſe doctrines and cuſtoms, by ſeparating the Motoualis from their neighbours, have rendered them a diſtinct ſociety. It is ſaid, they have long exiſted as a nation, in this country, though their name has never been mentioned by any European writer before the preſent century; it is not even to be found in the maps of Danville: La Roque, who viſited their country not a hundred years ago, gives them the name of *Amedians*. Be this as it may, in later times, their wars, robberies, ſucceſs, and

and various changes of fortune, have rendered them of conſequence in Syria. Till about the middle of this century, they only poſſeſſed Balbec, their capital, and a few places in the valley, and Anti Lebanon, which ſeems to have been their original country. At that period, we find them under a like government with the Druzes, that is under a number of Shaiks, with one principal chief, of the family of Harfouſh. After the year 1750, they eſtabliſhed themſelves among the heights of Bekaa, and got footing in Lebanon, where they obtained lands belonging to the Maronites, almoſt as far as Beſharrai. They even incommoded them ſo much by their ravages, as to oblige the Emir Youſef to attack them with open force, and expel them; but, on the other ſide, they advanced along the river, even to the neighbourhood of Sour, (Tyre). In this ſituation, Shaik Daher had the addreſs, in 1760, to attach them to his party. The Pachas of Saide and Damaſcus claimed tributes, which they had neglected paying, and complained of ſeveral robberies committed on their ſubjects by the Motoualis; they were deſirous of chaſtiſing them, but this vengeance was neither certain nor

eaſy. Daher interpoſed, and, by becoming ſecurity for the tribute, and promiſing to prevent any depredations, acquired allies who were able, as it is ſaid, to arm ten thouſand horſemen, all reſolute and formidable troops. Shortly after, they took poſſeſſion of Sour, and made this village their principal ſea-port. In 1771, they were of great ſervice to Ali Bey and Daher, againſt the Turks. But Emir Youſef, having, in their abſence, armed the Druzes, ravaged their country. He was beſieging the caſtle of Djezin, when the Motoualis, returning from Damaſcus, received intelligence of this invaſion. At the relation of the barbarities committed by the Druzes, an advanced corps, of only five hundred men, were ſo enraged, that they immediately ruſhed forward againſt the enemy, determined to periſh in taking vengeance. But the ſurprize and confuſion they occaſioned, and the diſcord which reigned between the two factions of Manſour and Youſef, ſo much favoured this deſperate attack, that the whole army, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand men, was completely overthrown.

In the following year, the affairs of Daher taking a favourable turn, the zeal of the Motoualis

Moutoualis cooled towards him, and they finally abandoned him in the cataſtrophe in which he loſt his life. But they have ſuffered for their imprudence, under the adminiſtration of the Pacha who ſucceeded him. Since the year 1777, Djezzar, maſter of Acre and Saide, has inceſſantly laboured to deſtroy them. His perſecution forced them, in 1784, to a reconciliation with the Druzes, and to enter into an alliance with the Emir Youſef. Though reduced to leſs than ſeven hundred armed men, they did more in that campaign than fifteen or twenty thouſand Druzes and Maronites, aſſembled at Dair-el-Kamar. They alone took the ſtrong fortreſs of Mar-Djebaa, and put to the ſword fifty or ſixty Arnauts *(t)*, who defended it. But the miſunderſtanding which prevailed among the chiefs of the Druzes having rendered abortive all their operations, the Pacha has obtained poſſeſſion of the whole valley, and the city of Balbec itſelf. At this period, not more than five hundred families of the Motoualis remained, who took refuge in Anti-Lebanon, and the Lebanon of the Maronites; and, driven, as

*(t)* The name given by the Turks to the Macedonian and Epirot ſoldiers.

they now are, from their native ſoil, it is probable they will ſoon be totally annihilated, and even their very name become extinct.

Such are the diſtinct tribes we find in Syria. The remainder of the inhabitants, who are conſiderably the moſt numerous, are, as I have ſaid, compoſed of Turks, Greeks, and Arabs. It now remains for me to give a ſketch of the diviſions of the country, under the Turkiſh adminiſtration, and to add a few general reflexions on its forces and revenues, its form of government, and the characters and manners of its inhabitants.

But before I proceed to theſe particulars, it may be proper to give ſome idea of the commotions, which, in our days, were on the point of producing an important revolution, and erecting an independent power in Syria; I mean the inſurrection of Shaik Daher, who, for many years, attracted the attention of Politicians. A ſuccinct narrative of his hiſtory muſt be the more intereſting as it is new, and as the accounts we have ſeen in the Gazettes of Europe are ill calculated to furniſh a juſt idea of the real ſtate of affairs in theſe diſtant countries.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXV.

*Summary of the history of Daher, son of Omar, who governed at Acre from* 1750 *to* 1776.

SHaik Daher, who, in our time, has given so much trouble to the Porte, was an Arabian by birth, descended from one of those tribes of Bedouins who usually encamp on the banks of the Jordan, and the environs of Lake Tabaria, (the ancient Tiberias). His enemies are fond of reminding us, that, in his youth, he was a camel driver; but this circumstance, which does honour to his abilities, by suggesting the difficulties he must have encountered in his rise, has, besides, in this country, nothing incompatible with a distinguished birth: it is now, and always will be, usual with the Arab princes, to employ themselves in occupations which appear to us mean. Thus I have already observed, that the Shaiks themselves guide their camels, and look after their horses, while their wives and daughters grind the corn, bake the bread, wash the linen, and fetch water, as in the times of Abraham, and Homer; and this simple

ſimple and laborious life, poſſibly, contributes more to happineſs than that liſtleſs inactivity, and ſatiating luxury which ſurround the great in poliſhed nations. As for Daher, it is certain that he was one of the moſt powerful families of the country. After the death of his father Omar, about the beginning of the preſent century, he divided the government with his uncle and two brothers. His domain was Safad, a ſmall town and ſtronghold in the mountains, to the north-weſt of the Lake of Tabaria, to which he ſhortly after added Tabaria itſelf. There Pocock *(u)* found him, in 1737, occupied in fortifying himſelf againſt the Pacha of Damaſcus, who, not long before, had ſtrangled one of his brothers. In 1742, another Pacha, named Soliman-el-adm, beſieged him there, and bombarded the place, to the great aſtoniſhment of all Syria, where bombs are but little known, even at preſent *( )*. In ſpite of his courage, Daher was reduced to the laſt extremity; when a fortunate, and, as it is alledged,

*(u)* Pococke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 69.

*(x)* I have ſeen letters of M. Jean Joſeph Blanc, a merchant of Acre, who was in Soliman's camp, at this time, in which a circumſtantial account is given of this affair.

not

not a caſual incident, relieved him from his embarraſſment. A violent and ſudden cholic carried off Soliman in two days. Aſad-el-adm, his brother and ſucceſſor, wanted either the ſame motives, or the ſame inclinations, to continue the war, and Daher was unmoleſted on the part of the Turks. But his activity, and the intrigues of his neighbours, ſoon gave him other employment. Reaſons of intereſt embroiled him with his uncle and brother, recourſe was had to arms more than once, and Daher, always victorious, thought it beſt to conclude theſe diſputes by the death of his competitors.

Inveſted, then, with the whole power of his family, an abſolute maſter of its force, new proſpects opened to his ambition. The commerce in which he engaged, according to the cuſtom of all the Aſiatic princes and governors, made him ſenſible of the advantage of an immediate communication with the ſea. He conceived that a port in his hands would become a public market, to which ſtrangers reſorting, a competition would ariſe favourable to the ſale of his commodities. Acre, ſituated in his neighbourhood, and under his eye, was ſuited to his deſigns, ſince

ſince for ſeveral years he had tranſacted buſineſs there with the French factors. This town was in reality but a heap of ruins, a miſerable open village, without defence. The Pacha of Saide maintained there an Aga, and a few ſoldiers, who dared not ſhew themſelves in the field; while the Bedouins really governed, and were maſters of all the country, up to its very gates. The plain, ſo fertile in former times, was nothing but an extenſive waſte, on which the waters ſtagnated, and infected the environs by their vapours. The ancient harbour was choaked up, but the road of Haifa, which is dependant on it, was ſo advantageouſly ſituated that Daher determined to gain poſſeſſion of it. A pretext was neceſſary, which was ſoon furniſhed by the conduct of the Aga.

One day, while ſome warlike ſtores, intended to be employed againſt the Shaik, were landing, Daher marched briſkly towards Acre, ſent a menacing letter to the Aga, which made him take to flight, and entered the town, where he eſtabliſhed himſelf, without reſiſtance: this happened about the year 1749. He was then ſixty-three years old. This age ſeems rather too advanced for

for ſuch enterprizes; but when we recollect, that, in 1776, at near ninety, he ſtill boldly mounted a fiery ſteed, it is evident he was much younger than that age uſually implies. So bold a meaſure could not paſs unnoticed; this he foreſaw, therefore inſtantly diſpatched a letter to the Pacha of Saide, repreſenting to him that the affair was entirely perſonal between him and the Aga, and proteſting that he was not leſs the very ſubmiſſive ſubject of the Sultan, and the Pacha; that he would pay the tribute of the diſtrict he now occupied, as had been done heretofore by the Aga; and would undertake beſides to reſtrain the Arabs, and do every thing in his power to reſtore this ruined country. This application, backed by a few thouſand Sequins, produced its effect in the Divans of Saide, and Conſtantinople: his reaſons were acknowledged juſt, and all his demands granted.

Not that the Porte was the dupe of the proteſtations of Daher; it is too much accuſtomed to ſuch proceedings to miſtake them; but it is a maxim with the Turks, not to keep their vaſſals in too ſtrict an obedience; they have long been convinced, that were they to make war with all rebels, it would

would be an endleſs labour, and occaſion a vaſt conſumption of men and money; without reckoning the riſk of frequent defeats, and the conſequent encouragement to revolt. Their plan, therefore, is to be patient; temporize *(y)*; and excite the neighbours, relations, and children of the revolters againſt them; and, ſooner, or later, the rebels, who uniformly follow the ſame ſteps, ſuffer the ſame fate, and end by enriching the Sultan with their ſpoils.

Daher, on his part, well knew the real value of this apparent friendſhip. Acre, which he intended for his reſidence, was deſtitute of defence, and might eaſily be ſurprized, either by ſea or land; he determined, therefore, to fortify it. In the year 1750, under pretext of building himſelf a houſe, he erected, on the northern point towards the ſea, a palace, which he provided with cannon. He then built ſeveral towers for the defence of the harbour, and encloſed the town by a wall, in which he left only two gates.

*(y)* The Arabs, in reference to this, have a ſingular proverb, which admirably paints this conduct: "The Oſmanli, "ſay they, catch hares with waggons."

Theſe

Theſe by the Turks were imagined very formidable works, though they would be laughed at in Europe. The palace of Daher, with its lofty and ſlight walls, its narrow ditch, and antique turrets, is incapable of the ſmalleſt reſiſtance: four field pieces would demoliſh, in two diſcharges, both the walls and the wretched cannon mounted on them, at the height of fifty feet. The wall of the town is ſtill more feeble; it has neither foſſé, nor rampart, and is not three feet thick. Through all this part of Aſia, baſtions, lines of defence, covered ways, ramparts, and, in ſhort, every thing relative to modern fortification, are utterly unknown. A ſingle thirty gun frigate would, without difficulty, bombard, and lay in ruins, the whole coaſt: but, as this ignorance is common both to the aſſailants and defendants, the balance remains equal.

After theſe precautions, Daher occupied himſelf in effecting ſuch a reformation in the country as ſhould augment his power. The Arabs of Saker, Muzaina, and other neighbouring tribes, had cauſed a deſertion of the Peaſants, by their inroads and devaſtations: he undertook to repel them; and by alter-

nately employing prayers and menaces, preſents and arms, reſtored ſecurity to the huſbandman, who might now ſow his corn, without fear of ſeeing the harveſt deſtroyed, or carried off by robbers. The excellence of the ſoil attracted cultivators, but the certainty of ſecurity, that bleſſing ſo precious to thoſe who have lived in a ſtate of continual alarm, was a ſtill ſtronger inducement. The fame of Daher ſpread through Syria, and Mahometan and Chriſtian farmers, every where deſpoiled and harraſſed, took refuge, in great numbers, with a prince under whom they were ſure to find both civil and religious liberty. A colony of Greeks emigrated from Cyprus, now nearly deſolated, by the oppreſſions of the governor, the inſurrections they produced, and the cruelty with which Kior Pacha expiated ſuch offences *(z)*. To theſe, Daher aſſigned a ſpot of ground, under the walls of Acre, which they laid out into gardens. The Europeans, who found a ready ſale for their merchandize, formed nu-

*(z)* When Kior Pacha came to Cyprus, he threw a number of the revolters, from the tops of the walls upon iron hooks, where they remained ſuſpended, till they expired in dreadful torments.

merous

merous ſettlements; the lands were cleared, the waters drained, the air became purer, and the country at once ſalubrious and pleaſant.

To ſtrengthen himſelf ſtill more, Daher renewed his alliances with the great tribes of the deſert, among whom he had diſpoſed of his children in marriage. This policy had ſeveral advantages; for, in them, he ſecured an inviolable aſylum, in caſe of accidents; by this means, alſo, he kept in check the Pacha of Damaſcus, and procured excellent horſes, of which he was always paſſionately fond. He courted, therefore, the Shaiks of Anaza, of Sardia, and Saker. Then, for the firſt time, were ſeen in Acre, thoſe little ſhrivelled and ſwarthy Arabs, who were beheld with aſtoniſhment even by the Syrians: he furniſhed them with arms and cloathing: and the deſert, alſo, for the firſt time, beheld men in cloſe dreſſes, and armed with muſkets and piſtols, inſtead of bows and match-lock-guns.

For ſome years, the Pachas of Saide and Damaſcus had been incommoded by the Motoualis, who pillaged their lands, and refuſed their tribute. Daher, ſenſible of the advantage to be made of theſe allies, firſt in-

terpoſed as mediator, and afterwards, in order to accommodate the parties, offered to become ſecurity for the Motoualis, and pay their tribute. The Pachas accepted this propoſal, which rendered their revenues certain, and Daher was content with the bargain he had made, ſince he had ſecured the friendſhip of a people who could bring ten thouſand horſe into the field.

The Shaik, however, did not peaceably enjoy the fruit of his labours; ſince he ſtill had to fear the attacks of a jealous ſuperior, and his power was ſhaken at home, by domeſtic enemies, almoſt as dangerous. Agreeable to the wretched policy of the eaſt, he had beſtowed ſeparate governments on his ſons, and placed them at a diſtance from him, in countries which were ſufficient for their maintenance. From this arrangement it followed, that theſe Shaiks, ſeeing themſelves the children of a great prince, wiſhed to ſupport a ſuitable ſtate, ſo that their revenues ſoon fell ſhort of their expences. Their ſubjects were oppreſſed by them and their agents, and complaints were made to Daher, who reprimanded them; and court flatterers irritating both parties, a quarrel was the conſequence,

ſequence, and war broke out between the father and his children. The brothers, too, frequently quarrelled with each other, which was another cauſe of war. Beſides the Shaik was growing old, and his ſons, who conſidered him as having arrived at the uſual limits of human life, longed to anticipate the ſucceſſion. He muſt neceſſarily leave a principal heir to his titles and power; each thought himſelf entitled to the preference, and this competition furniſhed a freſh ſubject of jealouſy and diſſention. From motives of narrow and contemptible policy, Daher fomented the diſcord; this might indeed produce the effect of keeping his ſoldiery in exerciſe, and inuring them to war; but, beſides that it was productive of numberleſs diſorders, it had the farther inconvenience of cauſing a diſſipation of treaſure, which obliged him to have recourſe to ruinous expedients: the cuſtom-houſe duties were augmented, and commerce, unable to ſupport the additional burthen, rapidly declined. Theſe civil wars, beſides, were deſtructive to agriculture, which cannot be injured, without the conſequences being always ſenſibly felt in a ſtate ſo limited as the ſmall territories of Daher.

Nor did the Divan of Conſtantinople behold without jealouſy, the increaſing power of Daher; and his ambitious views, which were now become apparent, increaſed its ſuſpicions, which were far from being removed, by a requeſt he ſoon after preſented. Till that time, he had only held his domains under the title of a renter, and by annual leaſe. His vanity could no longer ſubmit to this reſtriction; and, as he poſſeſſed all the eſſentials of power, he aſpired to its titles: nay, perhaps, he thought them neceſſary, more effectually to eſtabliſh his authority over his children, and his ſubjects. About the year, 1768, he, therefore, ſolicited a permanent inveſtiture of his government, for himſelf and his ſucceſſor, and demanded to be proclaimed, *Shaik of Acre, Prince of Princes, Governor of Nazareth, Tabaria, and Safad, and Shaik of all Galilee.* The Porte conceded every thing to fear and money: but this proof of his ambition, awakened more and more her jealouſy and diſpleaſure.

There were, beſides, too many cauſes of complaint, which though palliated by Daher, could not but increaſe this diſtruſt, and rouſe a deſire of vengeance. Such was the adventure of the celebrated pillage of the Caravan

Caravan of Mecca, in 1757. Sixty thouſand pilgrims plundered, and diſperſed over the deſert, a great number deſtroyed by ſword or famine, women reduced to ſlavery, the loſs of immenſe riches, and, above all, the ſacrilegious violation of ſo ſolemn an act of religion produced a commotion in the empire, which is not yet forgotten. The plundering Arabs were the Allies of Daher, who received them at Acre, and there permitted them to ſell their booty. The Porte loaded him with the bittereſt reproaches, but he endeavoured to exculpate himſelf, and to appeaſe the Divan, by ſending the white banner of the prophet to Conſtantinople.

Such alſo was the affair of the Malteſe Corſairs. For ſome years they had infeſted the coaſts of Syria, and, under the falſe pretext of a neutral flag, were received into the road of Acre: where they unloaded their ſpoils, and ſold the prizes they had taken from the Turks. No ſooner were theſe abuſes divulged, than the Mahometans exclaimed againſt the ſacrilege, and the Porte thundered vengeance. Daher pleaded ignorance of the fact, and, to prove he no way favoured a commerce ſo diſgraceful to the

ſtate and to religion, armed two galliots, and ſent them to ſea, with oſtenſible orders to drive off the Malteſe. But the fact is, that theſe galliots committed no hoſtilities againſt the Malteſe, but ſerved, on the contrary, to correſpond with them at ſea, remote from all witneſſes. Daher did more: he pretended the road of Haifa was without defence; that the enemy might take ſhelter there in ſpite of him, and required the Porte to build a fortreſs there, and provide it with cannon, at the expence of the Sultan: his demand was complied with, and Daher, ſhortly after, procured the fort to be adjudged uſeleſs, demoliſhed it, and tranſported the braſs cannon from thence to Acre.

Theſe things kept alive the diſcontent and alarms of the Divan, and though theſe were diminiſhed by the great age of Daher; the turbulent ſpirit of his ſons, and the military talents of Ali, the eldeſt of them, ſtill gave the Porte much uneaſineſs: ſhe dreaded to ſee an independent power perpetuate itſelf, and even become formidable; but, ſteady to her ordinary ſyſtem, refrained from open hoſtilities, and proceeded by ſecret means: ſhe ſent Capidjis, excited domeſtic quarrels, and had

had recourſe to meaſures capable at leaſt of preventing, for a time, the conſequences ſhe feared.

The moſt perſevering among all the agents ſhe employed, was that Oſman, Pacha of Damaſcus, whom we have ſeen act a leading part in the war of Ali Bey. He had merited the favour of the Porte, by diſcovering the treaſures of Soliman Pacha, whoſe Mamlouk he was. The perſonal hatred he bore to Daher, and the known activity of his character, were ſtill greater recommendations. He was conſidered as a proper counterpoiſe to Daher, and was accordingly named Pacha of Damaſcus in 1760. To give him additional weight, his two ſons were appointed to the pachalics of Tripoli and Saide; and, to throw ſtill greater power into his hands, in 1765, Jeruſalem and all Paleſtine were added to his appanage.

Oſman perfectly ſeconded the views of the Porte: As ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of his government, he greatly annoyed Daher. He augmented the tribute of the lands he held under the pachalic of Damaſcus: the Shaik reſiſted, the Pacha menaced, and it was evident the quarrel would come to a ſpeedy iſſue. Oſman watched the opportunity to ſtrike a blow which

which ſhould bring the matter to deciſion: this at length preſented itſelf, and war broke out.

Every year the Pacha of Damaſcus makes what is called the circuit *(a)* of his government, the object of which is to levy the miri or impoſt on the lands. On this occaſion he always takes with him a body of troops, ſtrong enough to ſupport his authority. He thought to avail himſelf of this opportunity to ſurpriſe Daher; and, followed by a numerous body of troops, took his route, as uſual, towards the country of Nablous. Daher was then beſieging a caſtle defended by two of his ſons: his danger was the greater, as he relied on a truce with the Pacha, and he owed his deliverance to his good fortune.

One evening, at the moment he leaſt expected it, a Tartar courier *(b)* brought him ſome letters from Conſtantinople. Daher opened them, and, immediately ſuſpending all hoſtilities, diſpatched a horſeman to his children, and deſired them to prepare a ſupper for him and three of his attendants, for that

*(a)* This is practiſed in almoſt all the great pachalics, where the vaſſals are in but little ſubjection.

*(b)* The Tartars perform the office of couriers in Turkey.

he

he had affairs to communicate of the laſt importance to them all. The character of Daher was known; his ſons obey him; he arrives at the appointed hour; they ſup chearfully together; and, at the end of the repaſt, he produces his letters and reads them; they were from his ſpies at Conſtantinople, and to the following purport:—"That the "Sultan had deceived him in the laſt pardon he had ſent him; that he had, at the "ſame inſtant, delivered a *kat-ſherif (c)* againſt "his head and property; that every thing "was concerted between the three Pachas, "Oſman, and his ſons, to circumvent and "deſtroy him and his family; and that the "Pacha was marching in force towards Na"blous to ſurpriſe him." The aſtoniſhment this intelligence excited, may eaſily be imagined; a council was immediately held, in which the opinions were divided. The greateſt number were for marching with all their forces againſt the Pacha; but the eldeſt of

(*c*) Kat-ſherif, which words ſignify, *Noble ſignature*, is a letter of proſcription conceived in theſe terms: "*Such a* "*one, who art the ſlave of my Sublime Porte, go to ſuch a* "*one, my ſlave, and bring back his head to my feet, at the* "*peril of thy own.*"

Daher's

Daher's ſons, A who has rendered himſelf illuſtrious in Syria, by his exploits, repreſented, that a large army could not march quick enough to ſurpriſe the Pacha; that he would have time to provide for his defence, and the diſgrace of violating the truce fall on them; that nothing could be effected but by a *coup de main*, which he would take upon himſelf. He demanded five hundred horſe; his courage was known, and his demand acceded to. He ſet off immediately, marching all night, and concealing himſelf during the day; and the following night was ſo expeditious, as to reach the enemy early in the morning of the ſecond day. The Turks, according to cuſtom, were aſleep in their camp, without order, and without centinels. Ali and his cavalry fell upon them, ſabre in hand, cutting to pieces every thing that came in their way. All was panic and tumult; the very name of Ali ſpread terror throughout the camp, and the Turks fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The Pacha had not even time to put on his peliſſe: ſcarcely was he out of his tent, before Ali arrived, who made himſelf maſter of his coffer, his ſhawls, his

his peliſſes, his poniard, his nerkeel *(d)*, and, to compleat his ſucceſs, the kat-ſherif of the Sultan. From this moment there was open war, which was carried on, according to the cuſtom of the country, by inroads and ſkirmiſhes, in which the Turks but rarely gained the advantage.

The expences it occaſioned ſoon drained the coffers of the Pacha; and, to reimburſe them, he had recourſe to the grand expedient of the Turks. He levied contributions on the towns, villages, and individuals; whoever was ſuſpected of having money, was ſummoned, baſtinadoed, and plundered. Theſe oppreſſions had occaſioned a revolt at Ramla in Paleſtine the very firſt year he obtained the government, which he ſuppreſſed by ſtill more odious cruelties. Two years after, in 1767, ſimilar conduct occaſioned a revolt at Gaza. He renewed theſe proceedings at Yafa, in 1769, where, among other acts of deſpotiſm, he violated the law of nations, in the perſon of the Reſident of Venice, John Damiâna, a reſpectable old man, whom he put

*(d)* A pipe, in the Perſian manner, conſiſting of a large flaſk filled with water, through which the ſmoke paſſes, and is purified, before it reaches the mouth.

to

to the torture, by five hundred ſtrokes on the ſoles of his feet; and who could only preſerve the feeble remains of life, by collecting from his own fortune, and the purſes of all his friends, a ſum of near ſixty thouſand livres, (twenty-five hundred pounds), for the Pacha. This tyranny is common in Turkey; but as it is not uſually either ſo violent, or ſo general, ſuch cruelties drove the oppreſſed to deſpair. The people began to murmur on every ſide, and Paleſtine, emboldened by the vicinity of Egypt, now in a ſtate of rebellion, threatened to call in a foreign protector.

Under theſe circumſtances, Ali Bey, the conqueror of Mecca and the Said, turned his projects of aggrandiſement toward Syria. The alliance of Daher, the war with the Ruſſians, which entirely occupied the Turks, and the diſcontents of the people, all conſpired to favour his ambition. He accordingly publiſhed a manifeſto in 1770, in which he declared, that God having beſtowed a ſignal benediction on his arms, he thought himſelf bound, in duty, to make uſe of them for the relief of the people, and to repreſs the tyranny of Oſman in Syria. He immediate-

ly diſpatched a body of Mamlouks to Gaza, who ſeized on Ramla and Loud. Their appearance divided the adjacent town of Yafa into two factions, one of which was deſirous of ſubmitting to the Egyptians; while the other was for calling in Oſman, who flew thither immediately, and encamped near the town. Two days after, Daher was announced, who had likewiſe haſtened thither for the ſame purpoſe. The inhabitants of Yafa, then, imagining themſelves ſecure, ſhut their gates againſt the Pacha; but, in the night, while he was preparing to eſcape, a party of his troops, paſſing along the ſea-ſhore, entered, by an opening in the wall, and ſacked the city. The next day Daher appeared, and, not finding the Turks, took poſſeſſion of Yafa, Ramla, and Loud, without reſiſtance, in which towns he placed garriſons.

Things thus prepared, Mahommad Bey arrived in Paleſtine, with the grand army, in the month of February 1771, and followed the Shaik along the ſea-coaſt to Acre. There, having been joined by twelve or thirteen hundred Motoualis, under the command of Naſif, and fifteen hundred Safadians, led by Ali, ſon of Daher, he marched in April towards

wards Damaſcus. We have already ſeen in what manner this combined army defeated the united forces of the Pachas, and how Mohammad, maſter of Damaſcus, and on the point of taking poſſeſſion of the caſtle, on a ſudden changed his deſign, and again took the road to Cairo. On this occaſion, Ibrahim Sabbar, Miniſter of Daher, receiving no other explanation from Mohammad than menaces, wrote to him in the name of the Shaik, a letter filled with reproaches, which proved, eventually the cauſe, or, at leaſt, the pretext of a freſh quarrel. Oſman, however, on his return to Damaſcus, recommenced his oppreſſions and hoſtilities; and, imagining that Daher, chagrined by the unexpected news he had received, would not be prepared for defence, he formed the project of ſurpriſing him even in Acre. But ſcarcely was he on his march, when Ali Daher, and Naſif, informed of his intentions, propoſed to turn the tables on him: they, therefore, ſecretly left Acre, and learning he was encamped on the weſtern bank of Lake Houla, arrived there, at break of day, took poſſeſſion of the bridge of Yakoub, which they found negligently guarded, and fell on him ſabre in

and

hand, in his camp, where they made a dreadful carnage. This, like the affair of Nablous, was a total defeat; the Turks, preſſed on the land ſide, threw themſelves into the lake, hoping to ſwim acroſs it; but the terror and confuſion of this multitude of men and horſes, which mutually embarraſſed each each other, was ſuch, that the enemy made a prodigious ſlaughter, while ſtill greater numbers periſhed in the water and mud of the lake. The Pacha was thought to be among the latter, but he had the good fortune to eſcape, being ſaved by two negroes, who ſwam acroſs with him on their ſhoulders. In the interim, Darouiſh, ſon of Oſmond, Pacha of Saide, had engaged the Druzes in his cauſe, and fifteen hundred Okkals had arrived, under the command of Ali-Djambalat, to reinforce the garriſon; while the Emir Youſef, deſcending into the valley of the Motoualis with twenty-five thouſand men, laid waſte all before him with fire and ſword. Ali Daher and Naſif, on this intelligence, directed their courſe inſtantly on that ſide, and, on the 21ſt of October, 1771, happened the action in which an advanced corps of five hundred Motoualis entirely defeated the

whole army of the Druzes; whose flight spread terror through Saide, whither they were closely pursued by the Safadians. Ali Djambalat, despairing to defend the town, evacuated it without delay; but not before it had been pillaged by his Okkals. The Motoualis, finding it without defence, entered and plundered it in their turn. At length, the chiefs put an end to the pillage, and took possession in the name of Daher, who appointed Degnizla, a native of Barbary, renowned for his bravery, to be his *Motsallam*, or governor.

The Porte, terrified at the defeats she had met with, both from the Russians, and her rebellious subjects, now offered peace to Daher, on very advantageous conditions. To induce him to accede to them, she removed the Pachas of Damascus, Saide, and Tripoli; disavowed their conduct, and solicited a reconciliation with the Shaik. Daher, now eighty-five or eighty-six years old, was willing to accept this offer, that he might terminate his days in peace; but he was diverted from this intention by his minister, Ibrahim; who did not doubt but Ali Bey would, the ensuing winter, proceed to the conquest of Syria, and that

that this Mamlouk would cede a conſiderable portion of that country to Daher, and in the future aggrandizement of his maſter's power, he hoped the advancement of his own private fortune, and the means of adding freſh treaſures to thoſe he had already amaſſed by his inſatiable avarice. Seduced by this brilliant proſpect, Daher rejected the propoſitions of the Porte, and prepared to carry on the war with redoubled activity.

Such was the ſtate of affairs, when, in the month of February, of the following year, Mohammad Bey reared the ſtandard of rebellion againſt his patron Ali. Ibrahim, at firſt, flattered himſelf this revolt would have no ſerious conſequences; but he was ſoon undeceived, by the news of Ali's expulſion, and his ſubſequent arrival at Acre, as a fugitive and ſuppliant. This ſtroke revived the courage of all the enemies of Daher, and the Turkiſh faction in Yafa availed themſelves of it to regain their aſcendancy. They appropriated to themſelves the effects left there by the little fleet of Rodoan; and, aided by a Shaik of Nablous, began a revolt in the city, and oppoſed the paſſage of the Mamlouks. Circumſtances now became very cri-

tical, as the ſpeedy arrival of a large army of Turks was announced, which was aſſembled near Aleppo: Daher, it may be, ought to have remained in the vicinity of Acre; but imagining his caution and alertneſs would ſecure him from every attack, he marched towards Nablous, chaſtiſing the rebels as he paſſed, and joining Ali Bey, below Yafa, conducted him without oppoſition to Acre.

After a reception ſuitable to Arabian hoſpitality, they marched together againſt the Turks, who, under the command of ſeven Pachas, and in concert with the Druzes, were beſieging Saide. In the road of Haifa were ſome Ruſſian veſſels, which, profiting by the revolt of Daher, were taking in proviſions: the Shaik negociated with them, and, for a preſent of ſix hundred purſes, engaged them to ſecond his operations by ſea. His army, at this time, might conſiſt of five or ſix thouſand Safadian and Motouali cavalry, eight hundred of Ali's Mamlouks, and about one thouſand Barbary infantry. The Turks, on the contrary, united with the Druzes, amounted to ten thouſand cavalry, and twenty thouſand peaſants, who, as ſoon as they received intelligence of the approach of the enemy, raiſed

raiſed the ſiege, and retreated to the north of the town, not intending flight, but to wait for Daher, and give him battle; and the armies engaged the next day, in better order than had hitherto been uſual.

The Turkiſh army, extending from the ſea to the foot of the mountains, was drawn up in platoons, nearly in the ſame line. The Okkals, on foot, were poſted on the ſea-ſhore behind ſome hedges of Nopals, and in trenches they had dug, to prevent a ſally from the town, while the cavalry occupied the plain in no little confuſion. Towards the centre, and advanced a little in the front, were eight cannon, twelve and twenty-four pounders, the only artillery hitherto made uſe of in the open field. At the foot of the mountains, and on their declivity, was the militia of the Druzes, armed with muſkets, without entrenchments, and without cannon. On the ſide of Daher, the Motoualis and the Safadians, ranged themſelves, ſo as to preſent the greateſt front poſſible, and endeavoured to occupy as much of the plain as the Turks. The right wing, commanded by Naſif, conſiſted of the Motoualis, and the thouſand Barbary infantry, intended to oppoſe the

peaſant Druzes. The other, led on by Ali Daher, was left without ſupport againſt the Okkals; but he relied on the Ruſſian boats and veſſels, which, keeping cloſe in with the ſhore, advanced in a line parallel to the army. In the centre, were the eight hundred Mamlouks, and, behind them, Ali Bey, with the aged Daher, who ſtill animated his people, both by his words and his example.

The action was begun by the Ruſſian veſſels; and no ſooner had they fired a few broadſides on the Okkals, than they retreated in confuſion; the ſquadrons of cavalry now advancing, nearly in a line, came within cannon-ſhot of the Turks. Inſtantly the Mamlouks, anxious to juſtify the general opinion of their bravery, galloped full ſpeed towards the enemy. The gunners, intimidated by their intrepidity, and ſeeing themſelves on foot, between two lines of cavalry, unſupported, either by redoubts or infantry, fired their pieces with precipitation, and took to flight. The Mamlouks, who ſuffered but little from this volley, ruſhed in an inſtant amid the cannon, and fell headlong upon the cavalry of the enemy. They met but a feeble reſiſtance, and, in the confuſion which enſued, every

every one, not knowing what to do, or what was paſſing around him, was more diſpoſed to fly than fight. The Pachas firſt ſet the example, and, in an inſtant, the flight became general. The Druzes, who never engage with good-will on the ſide of the Turks, preſently left the field, and hid themſelves in their mountains, and in leſs than an hour the plain was cleared. The allies, ſatisfied with their victory, would not riſk a purſuit, in a country which would become more difficult the nearer they approached Bairout; but the Ruſſian ſhips, to puniſh the Druzes, proceeded to cannonade that town, where they made a deſcent, and burnt three hundred houſes.

Ali Bey and Daher, on their return to Acre, determined to take vengeance for the treachery of the people of Nablous and Yafa, and, in the beginning of July 1772, appeared before the latter city. They firſt propoſed an accommodation, but the Turkiſh faction rejecting every propoſition, they were compelled to have recourſe to arms. This ſiege, properly ſpeaking, was only a blockade, nor muſt we imagine the aſſailants made their approaches after the European

method. They had no other artillery, on either ſide, than a few large cannon, badly mounted, ill ſituated, and ſtill worſe ſerved. The attacks were carried on neither by trenches, nor mines; and it muſt be owned that theſe were not neceſſary againſt a ſlight wall, without ditch or rampart. A breach was ſoon made, but the cavalry of Daher and Ali Bey ſhewed no great eagerneſs to paſs it; the beſieged having defended the inſide with ſtones, ſtakes, and deep holes which they had dug. The whole attack was made with ſmall arms, which killed very few, and eight months were waſted in this manner, in ſpite of the impatience of Ali Bey, who had alone the conduct of the ſiege. At length the beſieged, exhauſted with fatigue, and being in want of proviſions, ſurrendered by capitulation, in the month of February 1773. Ali Bey placed a governor in the town, for Daher, and haſtened to join the Shaik at Acre, where he found him occupied in preparations to enable him to return to Egypt, to accelerate which event, Ali contributed all in his power.

They waited only for a ſuccour of ſix hundred men promiſed by the Ruſſians, but the

the impatience of Ali Bey would not permit him to wait their arrival. Daher made uſe of every argument to detain him a few days longer. But finding nothing could alter his reſolution, he ſent fifteen hundred cavalry to accompany him, commanded by Otman, one of his ſons. Not many days after, (in April 1773), the Ruſſians arrived with the reinforcement, which, though leſs conſiderable than was expected, he greatly regretted he could not employ; but this regret was ſeverely aggravated, when Daher ſaw his ſon and his cavalry return as fugitives, to announce to him their own diſaſter, and the fate of Ali Bey. He was the more affected at this misfortune, as, inſtead of an uſeful ally, powerful in reſources, he acquired an enemy formidable from his hatred and activity. This, at his age, was a moſt afflicting proſpect, and it is highly to his honour, that he bore it with proper fortitude.

A fortunate event combined, at this juncture, with his natural firmneſs, to conſole him, and divert his attention. The Emir Youſef, thwarted by a powerful faction, had been obliged to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the Pacha of Damaſcus, to maintain himſelf in poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of Bairout. He had placed there a creature of the Turks, the Bey, Ahmed-el-Djezzar, of whom I have ſpoken before. No ſooner was this man inveſted with the command of the town, than he determined to ſeize it for himſelf. He began by converting to his own uſe, fifty thouſand piaſters belonging to the prince, and openly declared he acknowledged no maſter but the Sultan. The Emir, aſtoniſhed at this perfidy, in vain demanded juſtice of the Pacha of Damaſcus. Djezzar was diſavowed, but not ordered to reſtore the town. Piqued at this refuſal, the Emir complied at length with the general wiſh of the Druzes, and contracted an alliance with Daher. The treaty was concluded near Sour, and the Shaik, charmed with acquiring ſuch powerful friends, went immediately with them to reduce the rebel. The Ruſſian ſhips, which, for ſome time paſt, had never quitted the coaſt, now joined the Druzes, and, for a ſecond ſum of ſix hundred purſes, agreed to cannonade Bairout. This double attack had the deſired ſucceſs. Djezzar, notwithſtanding his vigorous reſiſtance, was obliged to capitulate; he ſurrendered himſelf to Daher alone, and followed him to Acre,

Acre, from whence, as I have related, he eſcaped ſoon after.

The defection of the Druzes did not diſcourage the Turks: the Porte expecting great ſucceſs in the intrigues ſhe was then carrying on in Egypt, ſtill entertained hopes of overcoming all her enemies; ſhe again placed Oſman at Damaſcus, and gave him an unlimited power over all Syria. The firſt uſe he made of this, was to aſſemble under his orders ſix Pachas, whoſe forces he led through the valley of Bekaa, to the village of Zahla, with intention to penetrate into the mountainous country. The ſtrength of this army, and the rapidity of its march, ſpread conſternation on every ſide, and the Emir Youſef, always timid and irreſolute, already repented his alliance with Daher; but this brave chief, ſolicitous for the ſafety of his allies, took care to provide for their defence. The Turks had hardly been encamped ſix days, at the foot of the mountains, before they learnt that Ali, the ſon of Daher, was approaching to give them battle. Nothing more was neceſſary to intimidate them. In vain were they told the enemy had but five hundred horſe, while they were upwards of five thouſand

ſand ſtrong: the name of Ali Daher ſo terrified them that this whole army fled, in one night, and left their camp, full of baggage and ammunition, to the inhabitants of Zahla.

After this ſucceſs, it might be ſuppoſed Daher would have allowed himſelf time to breathe, and have turned his attention to preparations for his defence, which were become every day more neceſſary; but fortune had determined he ſhould no longer enjoy any repoſe. For ſeveral years paſt, domeſtic troubles had accompanied foreign wars: and it was only by means of the latter, he had been able to appeaſe the former. His children, who were themſelves old men, were wearied of waiting ſo long for their inheritance; and, beſides this conſtant diſpoſition to revolt, had real grievances to complain of, which, by giving too much reaſon for their diſcontents, rendered them the more dangerous. For ſeveral years, the Chriſtian Ibrahim, miniſter of the Shaik, had engroſſed all his confidence, which he ſhamefully abuſed to gratify his own avarice. He dared not openly exerciſe the tyranny of the Turks; but he neglected no means, however unjuſt, by which he could amaſs money. He monopolized

lized every article of commerce; he alone had the ſale of corn, cotton, and other articles of exportation; and he alone purchaſed cloths, indigo, ſugars, and other merchandize. His avarice had frequently invaded the ſuppoſed privileges, and even the real rights of the Shaiks; they did not pardon him this abuſe of power, and every day, furniſhing freſh ſubjects of complaint, was productive of new diſturbances. Daher, whoſe underſtanding began to be impaired by his extreme old age, did not adopt meaſures calculated to appeaſe them. He called his children rebels, and ungrateful, and imagined he had no faithful and diſintereſted ſervant but Ibrahim: this infatuation ſerved only to deſtroy all reſpect for his perſon, and to inflame and juſtify their diſcontents.

The unhappy effects of this conduct fully diſplayed themſelves in 1774. Since the death of Ali Bey, Ibrahim, finding he had more to fear than hope, had abated ſomething of his haughtineſs. He no longer ſaw the ſame certainty of amaſſing money by making war. His allies, the Ruſſians, in whom all his confidence was placed, began themſelves to talk of peace; and theſe motives

tives determined him likewiſe to conclude it, for which purpoſe he entered into a Treaty with a Capidji whom the Porte maintained at Acre. It was agreed that Caher and his ſons ſhould lay down their arms, but retain the government of the country, by receiving the *Tails*, which are the ſymbols of this authority. But it was likewiſe ſtipulated, that Saide ſhould be reſtored, and the Shaik pay the miri, as he had done formerly. Theſe conditions were extremely diſſatisfactory to the ſons of Daher, and the more ſo becauſe they were concluded without their participation. They deemed it diſgraceful again to become tributaries, and were ſtill more offended that the Porte had granted to none of them the title of their father; they therefore all revolted. Ali repaired to Paleſtine, and took up his quarters at Habroun; Ahmad and Seid retired to Nablous, Otman among the Arabs of Saker, and the remainder of the year paſſed in theſe diſſenſions.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when, in the beginning of 1775, Mohammed-Bey appeared in Paleſtine, with all the forces he was able to collect. Gaza, deſtitute of ammunition,

nition, did not venture to reſiſt. Yafa, proud of the part ſhe had acted in former diſputes, had more courage; the inhabitants took arms, and their reſiſtance had nearly diſappointed the vengeance of the Mamlouk; but every thing conſpired to the deſtruction of Daher. The Druzes dared not ſtir; the Motoualis were diſcontented: Ibrahim ſummoned aſſiſtance from every quarter, but he offered no money, and his ſolicitations had no effect; he had not even the prudence to ſend proviſions to the beſieged. They were compelled to ſurrender, and the road to Acre was laid open to the enemy. As ſoon as the taking of Yafa was known, Ibrahim and Daher fled, and took refuge in the mountains of Safad. Ali Daher, confiding in the treaty between himſelf and Mohammad, took the place of his father; but ſoon perceiving he had been deceived, he took to flight, likewiſe, in his turn, and Acre remained in the poſſeſſion of the Mamlouks.

It would have been difficult to foreſee the conſequences of this revolution, but the unexpected death of its author rendered it, of a ſudden, of no effect. The flight of the Egyptians, leaving free the country

and capital of Daher, he loſt no time in returning; but the ſtorm was by no means appeaſed. He ſoon learnt that a Turkiſh fleet, under the command of Haſſan, the celebrated Captain Pacha, was laying ſiege to Saide. He then diſcovered too late the perfidy of the Porte, which had lulled his vigilance by profeſſions of friendſhip, while ſhe was concerting with Mohammad Bey the means of his deſtruction. During a whole year that the Turks had been diſengaged from the Ruſſians, it was not difficult to foreſee their intentions from their motions. Still, however, it was in his power to endeavour to prevent the conſequences of this error; but, unfortunately, even this he neglected. Degnizla, bombarded in Saide without hope of ſuccour, was conſtrained to evacuate the town; and the Captain Pacha appeared inſtantly before Acre. At ſight of the enemy, a conſultation was held how to eſcape the danger, and this led to a quarrel, which decided the fate of Daher.

In a general council, Ibrahim gave his opinion to repel force by force: his reaſons were, that the Captain Pacha had but three large veſſels; that he could neither make an attack

attack by land, nor remain at anchor, without danger, before the caſtle; that there was a ſufficient force of cavalry and Barbary infantry to hinder a deſcent, and that it was almoſt certain the Turks would relinquiſh the enterprize without attempting any thing. In oppoſition to him, Degnizla declared for peace, becauſe reſiſtance could only prolong the war; he maintained it was unreaſonable to expoſe the lives of ſo many brave men, when the ſame object might be effected by leſs valuable means, that is by money; that he was ſufficiently acquainted with the avarice of the Captain Pacha, to aſſert he would ſuffer himſelf to be corrupted; and was certain not only that he could procure his departure, but even make him a friend, for the ſum of two thouſand purſes. This was preciſely what Ibrahim dreaded; he therefore exclaimed againſt the meaſure, proteſting there was not a medin in the Treaſury. Daher ſupported his aſſertion. "The Shaik is in "the right," replied Degnizla; "his ſervants "have long known that his generoſity does not "ſuffer his money to ſtagnate in his coffers; "but does not the money they obtain from him "belong to him? And can it be believed that

" thus entitled to them we know not where to " find two thouſand purſes?" At theſe words Ibrahim, interrupting him, exclaimed, that as for himſelf, no man could be poorer. " Say " baſer," reſumed Degnizla, tranſported with rage. " Who is ignorant, that for the laſt " fourteen years, you have been heaping up " enormous treaſures; that you have mono- " polized all the trade of the country; that " you ſell all the lands, and keep back the " payments that are due; that in the war " of Mahommad Bey, you plundered the " whole territory of Gaza, carried away " all the corn, and left the inhabitants of " Yafa without the neceſſaries of life?"

He was proceeding, when the Shaik, commanding ſilence, proteſted the innocence of his Miniſter, and accuſed Degnizla of envy and treachery. Degnizla inſtantly quitted the council, and aſſembling his countrymen, the Mograbians or Barbary Arabs, who compoſed the chief ſtrength of the place, forbid them to fire upon the Captain Pacha.

Daher, however, determined to ſtand the attack, made every neceſſary preparation; and, the next day, Haſſan, approaching the caſtle, began the cannonade. Daher anſwered with the

the few pieces near him; but in ſpite of his reiterated orders, the others did not fire. Finding himſelf betrayed, he mounted his horſe; and, leaving the town by the gate which opens towards the gardens, on the North, attempted to gain the country; but, while he was paſſing along the walls of theſe gardens, a Mograbian ſoldier ſhot him with a muſquet in the loins, and he fell from his horſe, when the Barbary Arabs, inſtantly ſurrounding his body, cut off his head, which they carried to the Captain Pacha, who, according to the odious cuſtom of the Turks, loaded it with inſults while he ſurveyed it, and had it pickled, in order to carry it to Conſtantinople, as a preſent to the Sultan, and a ſpectacle to the people.

Such was the tragical end of a man, in many reſpects, worthy of a better fate. It is long ſince Syria has beheld among her chiefs ſo great a character. In military affairs, no man poſſeſſed more courage, activity, coolneſs, or reſources. In politics, the noble frankneſs of his mind was not diminiſhed even by his ambition. He was fond only of brave and open meaſures; and heroically preferred the dangers of the field

to the wily intrigues of the cabinet; nor was it till he had taken Ibrahim for his minister that his conduct was blemished with a sort of duplicity which that Christian called Prudence. The reputation of his justice had established, throughout his states, a security unknown in Turkey. Differences in religion occasioned no disputes: he possessed the toleration, or, perhaps, the indifference, of the Bedouin Arabs. He had also preserved the simplicity of their customs and manners. His table was not different from that of a rich farmer; the utmost luxury of his dress never exceeded a few Pelisses, and he never wore any trinkets. The greatest expence he incurred was in blood mares, for some of which he even paid as high as twenty thousand livres, (eight hundred and twenty-five pounds.) He likewise loved women; but was so jealous of decency and decorum, that he ordered that every one taken in an act of gallantry, or offering insult to a woman, should suffer death: he had, in short, attained the difficult medium between prodigality and avarice, and was at once generous and œconomical. Whence was it then, that, with such great qualities, he did not further extend, and

more firmly eſtabliſh his power? To this queſtion a minute knowledge of his adminiſtration would furniſh an eaſy anſwer, but I ſhall content myſelf with aſſigning the three principal cauſes.

Firſt, His government wanted that internal good order, and juſtneſs of principle, without which all improvement muſt be ſlow and irregular.

Secondly, the early conceſſions he made to his children introduced a multitude of diſorders, which prevented the improvement of agriculture, impoveriſhed his finances, divided his forces, and prepared the downfall of himſelf and the independant ſtate he had founded.

A third and more efficacious cauſe than all the reſt, was the avarice of Ibrahim Sabbar. This man, abuſing the confidence of his maſter, and the weakneſs incident to age, by his rapacity, alienated from him, his children, ſervants, and allies. His extortions even lay ſo heavy on the people, towards the end of his life, as to render them indifferent whether they returned under the Turkiſh yoke. His paſſion for money was ſo ſordid, that, amid the wealth he was amaſſing, he lived only on

cheeſe and olives; and, ſo great was his parſimony, that he frequently ſtopped at the ſhops of the pooreſt merchants, and partook of their frugal repaſt. He never wore any thing but dirty and ragged garments. To behold this meagre, one-eyed, wretch, one would have taken him rather for a beggar than the miniſter of a conſiderable ſtate. By theſe vile practices, he amaſſed about twenty millions of French money, (eight hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds), which fell to the Turks. No ſooner was the death of Daher known in Acre, than, the public indignation breaking out againſt Ibrahim, he was ſeized, and given up to the Captain Pacha, to whom no preſent could be more acceptable. The report of this man's treaſures was general throughout Turkey; it had contributed to animate the reſentment of Mohammad Bey, and was the principal motive of the meaſures of the Captain Pacha. He no ſooner had him in his power than he endeavoured to extort from him a declaration of the ſums he poſſeſſed, and the place where they were concealed; but Ibrahim firmly denied any ſuch treaſure exiſted. In vain did the Pacha employ careſſes, menaces, and the torture;

torture; all were ineffectual; and it was by other indications Haſſan at length diſcovered, among the Fathers of the Holy Land, and at the houſes of two French merchants, ſeveral cheſts, ſo large, and ſo full of gold, that the biggeſt required eight men to carry it. With this gold were found alſo ſeveral trinkets, ſuch as pearls and diamonds, and, among others, the Kandjar of Ali Bey, the handle of which was eſtimated at upwards of two hundred thouſand livres, (above eight thouſand pounds). All this was conveyed to Conſtantinople with Ibrahim, who was loaded with chains. The Turks, ferocious and inſatiable, ſtill hoping to diſcover new treaſures, inflicted on him the moſt cruel tortures, to force him to confeſſion; but, it is aſſerted, he invariably maintained the firmneſs of his character, and periſhed with a courage worthy of a better cauſe.

After the death of Daher, the Captain Pacha confirmed Djezzar Pacha of Acre and Saide, and committed to him the care of compleating the deſtruction of the rebels. Faithful to his inſtructions, Djezzar alternately attacked them by ſtratagem and force, and

ſo far ſucceeded, as to induce Otman, Seid, and Ahmad, to deliver themſelves into his hands. Ali Daher alone refuſed, and him they wiſhed for moſt. In the following year (1776), the Captain Pacha returned, and, in concert with Djezzar, beſieged Ali, in Dair-Hanna, a ſtrong-hold, about a day's journey from Acre, but he eſcaped them. To free themſelves from their fears, they employed a ſtratagem worthy of their character. They ſuborned ſome Barbary Arabs, who, pretending to have been diſmiſſed from Damaſcus, came into the country where Ali was encamped. After relating their hiſtory to his attendants, they applied to the hoſpitality of the Shaik. Ali received them as became an Arab, and a brave man; but theſe wretches, falling on him in the night, maſſacred him, and haſtened to demand their reward, though they were not able to bring with them his head. The Captain Pacha, having no longer any thing to fear from Ali, murdered his brothers, Seid, Ahmad, and their children. Otman alone, on account of his extraordinary talents for poetry, was ſpared, and carried to Conſtantinople. Degnizla, who was ſent

from

from that capital to Gaza, with the title of governor, periſhed on the road, not without ſuſpicions of poiſon. The Emir Youſef, terrified at theſe events, made his peace with Djezzar; and, from that time, Galilee, again ſubjected to the Turks, only retains an unprofitable remembrance of the power of Daher.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*The distribution of Syria into Pachalics, under the Turkish government.*

AFTER Sultan Selim I. had taken Syria from the Mamlouks, he subjected that province, like the rest of the empire, to the government of Viceroys, or Pachas *(a)*, invested with unlimited power. The more effectually to secure his authority, he divided the country into five Governments, or *Pachalics*, which division still remains. These Pachalics are those of Aleppo, Tripoly, and Saide, lately removed to Acre; that of Damascus, and, lastly, that of Palestine, the seat of which is sometimes at Gaza, and sometimes at Jerusalem. Since the time of Selim, the limits of these Pachalics have often varied, but their general extent has always been nearly the same. I shall now proceed to give a more circumstantial detail of the most interesting particulars of their present state, such as the revenues, productions, forces, and most remarkable places.

*(a)* The Turkish word *Pacha*, is formed of the two Persian words *Pa-shah*, which literally signify *Viceroy*.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVII.

### *Of the Pachalic of Aleppo.*

THE Pachalic of Aleppo comprehends the country, extending from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, between two lines, one drawn from Scandaroon to Beer, along the mountains; the other from Beles to the ſea, by Mara, and the bridge of Shoger. This ſpace principally conſiſts of two plains; that of Antioch to the weſt, and that of Aleppo to the eaſt: the north and the ſea coaſt are occupied by conſiderably high mountains, known to the ancients by the names of Amanus, and of Rhoſus. In general, the ſoil of this government is fat and loamy. The lofty and vigorous plants, which ſhoot up every where after the winter rains, prove its fertility, but its actual fruitfulneſs is but little. The greateſt part of the lands lies waſte; ſcarcely can we trace any marks of cultivation, in the environs of the towns and villages. Its principal produce conſiſts in wheat, barley, and cotton, which are found eſpecially in the flat country. In the mountains,

tains, they rather chuſe to cultivate the vine, mulberry, olive, and fig-trees. The ſides of the hills towards the ſea-coaſt are appropriated to tobacco, and the territory of Aleppo, to Piſtachios. The paſturage is not to be reckoned, becauſe that is abandoned to the wandering Hordes of the Turkmen and Curds.

In the greater part of the Pachalics, the Pacha is, as his title imports, at once the Viceroy and Farmer-general of the country; but in that of Aleppo, he does not poſſeſs the latter office. This the Porte has beſtowed on a *Mehaſſel*, or collector, who is immediately accountable for what he receives. His leaſe is only for a year. The preſent rent of his farm is eight hundred purſes, which make a million of French money, (above forty thouſand pounds); but to this muſt be added, the *price of the babouſhes (b)*, or a preſent of eighty or one hundred thouſand livres, (three or four thouſand pounds), to purchaſe the favour of the Viſir, and men in office. For theſe two ſums, the farmer receives all the duties of the government, which

(*b*) Turkiſh ſlippers.

are;

are; Firſt the produce of import and export duties on merchandize coming from Europe, India, and Conſtantinople, and on that exported in exchange. Secondly, The taxes paid by the herds of cattle brought every year by the Turkmans and Curds, from Armenia and the Diarbekar, to be ſold in Syria. Thirdly, The fifth of the ſalt works of Djeboul. And, laſtly, The Miri, or land-tax. Theſe united may produce from fifteen to ſixteen hundred thouſand livres, (above ſixty thouſand pounds).

The Pacha, deprived of this lucrative branch of the adminiſtration, receives a fixed allowance of eighty thouſand piaſters, (eight thouſand three hundred and thirty pounds). This revenue has always been inadequate to the expences; for, beſides the troops he is obliged to maintain, and the reparation of the highways and fortreſſes, the expences of which he is to defray, he is under the neceſſity of making large preſents to the miniſters, in order to keep his place; but the Porte adds to the account, the contributions he may levy on the Curds and Turkmans, and his extortions from the villages and individuals; nor do the Pachas come ſhort of this calculation.

calculation. Abdi Pacha, who governed twelve or thirteen years ago, carried off, at the end of fifteen months, upwards of four millions of livres, (one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds) by laying under contribution every trade, even the very cleaners of tobacco pipes; and, very lately, another of the ſame name has been obliged to fly for ſimilar oppreſſions. The former was rewarded by the Divan with the command of an army againſt the Ruſſians; but if the latter has not enriched himſelf, he will be ſtrangled as an extortioner. Such is the ordinary progreſs of affairs in Turkey!

Cuſtom requires that the commiſſion of the Pacha ſhould be only for three months; but it is frequently extended to ſix, and even to a year. His office is to retain the province in obedience, and provide for the ſecurity of the country againſt every foreign and domeſtic enemy. For this purpoſe he maintains five or ſix hundred horſe, and about the ſame number of infantry. Beſides theſe, he has the command of the Janiſaries, who are a ſort of enrolled national militia. As this corps is found throughout all Syria, it will be

be proper to ſay a few words concerning its conſtitution.

The Janiſaries I have mentioned conſiſt, in each Pachalic, of a certain number of enrolled men, who muſt hold themſelves ready to march whenever they are required. As there are certain privileges and exemptions attached to their body, there is a competition to obtain admiſſion into it. Formerly they were ſubject to regular exerciſe and diſcipline; but all obſervance of this has ſo declined, within the laſt ſixty or eighty years, that there no longer remains the ſlighteſt trace of their ancient good order. Theſe pretended ſoldiers are only a croud of artizans and peaſants, as ignorant as the reſt of that claſs, but infinitely leſs tractable. When a Pacha abuſes his authority, they are always the firſt to erect the ſtandard of ſedition. They depoſed and expelled Abdi Pacha from Aleppo, and compelled the Porte to ſend another in his ſtead. The Turkiſh government revenges itſelf, it is true, by ordering the moſt active mutineers to be ſtrangled; but, on the firſt opportunity, the Janiſaries create other chiefs, and affairs return to their uſual courſe. The Pachas, ſeeing themſelves thwarted by this

national militia, have had recourſe to the expedient made uſe of in ſimilar caſes; they have taken foreign ſoldiers into their ſervice, who have neither friends nor families in the country. Theſe are of two ſorts, cavalry and infantry.

The cavalry, who alone merit the name of ſoldiers, for this reaſon aſſume the appellation of *Dacula* or *Deleti*, and likewiſe *Delibaſhes* and *Lawend*, from whence we have formed *Leventi*. Their arms are ſhort ſabres, piſtols, muſkets, and lances. They wear a kind of cap, which is a long cylinder of black felt, nine or ten inches high, and without any projecting rim; it is extremely inconvenient, as it does not ſhade the eyes, and eaſily falls off their bald heads. Their ſaddles are made in the Engliſh manner, of a ſingle ſkin ſtretched upon a wooden tree; they are bare, but not the leſs incommodious for this, as they throw out the legs of the rider, ſo as to prevent him from clinging; in the reſt of their accoutrements and cloathing, they reſemble the Mamlouks: with this difference, that they are not provided with ſo good. Their ragged clothes, their ruſty arms, and their horſes of different ſizes, make them reſemble banditti

more

more than ſoldiers; and, in fact, the greateſt part of them have firſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the former capacity, nor have they greatly changed in adopting their ſecond occupation. Almoſt all the cavalry in Syria are Turkmans, Curds, or Caramanians; who, after exerciſing the trade of robbers, in their own country, ſeek employment and an aſylum near the perſon of the Pacha. Throughout the empire, theſe troops are, in like manner, formed of plunderers, who roam from place to place. From want of diſcipline, they retain their former manners, and are the ſcourge of the country, which they lay waſte, and of the peaſants, whom they often pillage by open force.

The infantry are a corps ſtill inferior in every reſpect. Formerly they were procured from the inhabitants of the country by forced inliſtments; but, within the laſt fifty or ſixty years, the peaſants of Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, have thought proper to ſeek in Syria and in Egypt, that reſpect which is denied them in their own country. They alone, under the name of *Magarba*, *Mograbians*, or *Men of the Weſt*, compoſe the infantry of the Pachas. So that, by a whimſical exchange, it

happens, that the ſoldiery of the Barbary States conſiſt of Turks, while that of the Turks is compoſed of the natives of Barbary. It is impoſſible for troops to be leſs encumbered than theſe; for their whole accoutrements and baggage are confined to a ruſty firelock, a large knife, a leathern bag, a cotton ſhirt, a pair of drawers, a red cap, and ſometimes ſlippers. Their pay is five piaſtres (about ten ſhillings and ten-pence) per month, out of which they are obliged to furniſh themſelves with arms and cloathing. They are maintained at the expence of the Pacha; which, altogether, may be eſteemed tolerable encouragement; the pay of the cavalry is double, and each horſeman has, beſides this, his horſe and his ration, which is a meaſure of chopped ſtraw, and fifteen pounds of barley a day. Theſe troops are divided, in the ancient Tartar manner, by *bairaks*, or colours; each bairak is reckoned ten men, but they rarely conſiſt of above ſix effectives: the reaſon of which is, that the *Agas*, or commanders of colours, being entruſted with the pay of the ſoldiers, maintain as few as poſſible, to profit by the deficiency. The ſuperior Agas tolerate theſe abuſes, and partake of the ſpoils; nay,

nay, the Pachas themſelves diſregard them, and, in order to avoid the payment of the complete number, connive at the rapacity and want of diſcipline of their troops.

In conſequence of ſuch wretched government, the greater part of the Pachalics in the empire are impoveriſhed and laid waſte. This is the caſe in particular with that of Aleppo. In the ancient *deſtars*, or regiſters of impoſts, upwards of three thouſand two hundred villages were reckoned; but, at preſent, the collector can ſcarcely find four hundred. Such of our merchants as have reſided there twenty years, have themſelves ſeen the greater part of the environs of Aleppo become depopulated. The traveller meets with nothing but houſes in ruins, ciſterns rendered uſeleſs, and fields abandoned. Thoſe who cultivated them are fled into the towns, where the population is abſorbed, but where at leaſt the individual conceals himſelf among the crowd from the rapacious hand of deſpotiſm.

The places which merit moſt attention in this Pachalic are, firſt, the city of Aleppo, called by the Arabs *Halab (c)*. This city is

(c) This is the name of which the ancient geographers made *Chalybon*: the *ch* repreſents here the Spaniſh *jota*; and

the capital of the province, and the ordinary reſidence of the Pacha. It is ſituated in the vaſt plain which extends from the Orontes to the Euphrates, and which, towards the ſouth, terminates in the deſert. The ſituation of Aleppo, beſide the advantage of a rich and fruitful ſoil, poſſeſſes alſo that of a ſtream of freſh water, which never becomes dry. This rivulet, which is about as large as that of the *Gobelins* at Paris (or the New River near London) riſes in the mountains of Aentab, and terminates ſix leagues below Aleppo, in a moraſs full of wild boars and pelicans. Near Aleppo, its banks, inſtead of the naked rocks which line them in the upper part of its courſe, are covered with a fertile earth, and laid out in gardens, or rather orchards, which, in a hot country, and eſpecially in Turkey, cannot but be delightful. The city is in itſelf one of the moſt agreeable in Syria, and is, perhaps, the cleaneſt and beſt built of any in Turkey. On whatever ſide it is approached, its numerous minarets and domes preſent an

it is remarkable, that the modern Greeks ſtill render the Arabic *ha* by the ſame ſound of *jota*; which occaſions a thouſand double meanings in their converſation, as the Arabs have the *jota* in another letter.

agreeable

agreeable proſpect to the eye fatigued with the continued ſameneſs of the brown and parched plains. In the center is an artificial mountain, ſurrounded by a dry ditch, on which is a ruinous fortreſs. From hence we have a fine proſpect of the whole city, and, to the north, diſcover the ſnowy tops of the mountains of Bailan; and, on the weſt, thoſe which ſeparate the Orontes from the ſea; while, to the ſouth and eaſt, the eye can diſcern as far as the Euphrates. In the time of Omar, this caſtle ſtopped the progreſs of the Arabs for ſeveral months, and was, at laſt, taken by treachery, but, at preſent, would not be able to reſiſt the feebleſt aſſault. Its ſlight wall, low, and without a buttreſs, is in ruins; its little old towers are in no better condition; and it has not four cannon fit for ſervice, not excepting a culverine, nine feet long, taken from the Perſians at the ſiege of Baſra (Baſſora). Three hundred and fifty Janiſaries, who ſhould form the garriſon, are buſy in their ſhops, and the Aga ſcarcely finds room in it to lodge his retinue. It is remarkable that this Aga is named immediately by the Porte, which, ever ſuſpicious, divides, as much as poſſible, the different offices. Within the

walls of the caſtle is a well, which, by means of a ſubterraneous communication, derives its water from a ſpring a league and a quarter diſtant. In the environs of the city, we find a number of large ſquare ſtones, on the top of which is a turban of ſtone, and which are ſo many tombs. There are many riſing grounds round it, which, in caſe of a ſiege, would greatly facilitate the approaches of the aſſailants. Such, among others, is that on which the houſe of the Derviſes ſtands, and which commands the canal and the rivulet: Aleppo, therefore, cannot be eſteemed a place of importance in war, though it be the key of Syria to the north; but, conſidered as a commercial city, it has a different appearance. It is the emporium of Armenia and the Diarbekar; ſends caravans to Bagdad, and into Perſia; and communicates with the Perſian Gulph and India, by Baſra; with Egypt and Mecca by Damaſcus; and with Europe by Skandaroon (Alexandretta) and Latakia. Commerce is there principally carried on by barter. The chief commodities are raw or ſpun cottons, coarſe linens fabricated in the villages; ſilk ſtuffs manufactured in the city, copper, *bourrers* (coarſe cloths) like thoſe of Rouen,

Rouen, goats hair brought from Natolia; the gall nuts of the Kourdeſtan, the merchandize of India, ſuch as ſhawls *(d)* and muſlins; and piſtachio nuts of the growth of the neighbourhood. The articles ſupplied by Europe, are the Languedoc cloths, cochineal, indigo, ſugar, and ſome other groceries. The coffee of America, though prohibited, is introduced, and ſerves to mix with that of Moka. The French have at Aleppo a conſul, and ſeven counting-houſes; the Engliſh and the Venetians two, and the merchants of Leghorn and Holland one. The Emperor appointed a conſul there, in 1784, in the perſon of a rich Jew merchant, who ſhaved his beard to aſſume the uniform and the ſword. Ruſſia has alſo ſent one very lately.

Aleppo is not exceeded in extent by any city in Turkey, except Conſtantinople and Cairo, and perhaps Smyrna. The number of

*(d)* Shawls are woollen handkerchiefs, an ell wide, and near two long. The wool is ſo fine and ſilky, that the whole handkerchief may be contained in the two hands cloſed: It is ſaid that no wool is employed but that of lambs torn from the belly of their mother before the time of birth. The moſt beautiful ſhawls are brought from Caſhmire: their price is from 150 livres (about ſix guineas), to 1200 livres (or 50l. ſterling).

inhabitants has been computed at two hundred thouſand; but, in theſe calculations, certainty is impoſſible. However if we obſerve, that this city is not larger than Nantes or Marſeilles, and that the houſes conſiſt only of one ſtory, we ſhall, perhaps, not think it probable they exceed a hundred thouſand. The people of this city, both Turks and Chriſtians, are, with reaſon, eſteemed the moſt civilized in all Turkey; and the European merchants no where enjoy ſo much liberty, or are treated with ſo much reſpect.

The air of Aleppo is very dry and piercing, but, at the ſame time, very ſalubrious for all who are not troubled with aſthmatic complaints. The city, however, and the environs, are ſubject to a ſingular endemial diſorder, which is called the ringworm or pimple of Aleppo; it is in fact a pimple which is at firſt inflammatory, and at length becomes an ulcer of the ſize of a nail. The uſual duration of this ulcer is one year; it commonly fixes on the face, and leaves a ſcar with which almoſt all the inhabitants are diſfigured. It is alledged that every ſtranger, who reſides there three months, is attacked with it; experience has taught that the beſt mode of treatment

is

is to make uſe of no remedy. The cauſe of this malady is unknown; but I ſuſpect it proceeds from the quality of the water, as it is likewiſe frequent in the neighbouring villages, in ſome parts of the Diarbekar, and even in certain diſtricts near Damaſcus, where the ſoil and the water have the ſame appearances.

Every body has heard of the pigeons of Aleppo, which ſerve as couriers at Alexandretta and Bagdad. This uſe of them, which is not fabulous, has been laid aſide for the laſt thirty or forty years, becauſe the Curd robbers killed the pigeons. The manner of ſending advice by them was this: they took pairs which had young ones, and carried them on horſeback to the place from whence they wiſhed them to return, taking care to let them have a full view. When any advices were received, the correſpondent tied a billet to the pigeon's foot, and let her looſe. The bird, impatient to ſee its young, flew off like lightning, and arrived at Aleppo in ten hours from Alexandretta, and in two days from Bagdad. It was not difficult for them to find their way back, ſince Aleppo may be diſcovered at an immenſe diſtance. This pigeon has nothing peculiar

peculiar in its form, except its noſtrils, which, inſtead of being ſmooth and even, are ſwelled and rough.

The conſpicuous ſituation of Aleppo brings numbers of ſea birds thither, and affords the curious a ſingular amuſement: if you go after dinner on the terraces of the houſes, and make a motion as if throwing bread, numerous flocks of birds will inſtantly fly round you, though at firſt you cannot diſcover one; but they are floating aloft in the air, and deſcend in a moment to ſeize, in their flight, the morſels of bread, which the inhabitants frequently amuſe themſelves with throwing to them.

Next to Aleppo, Antioch, called by the Arabs Antakia, claims our attention. This city, anciently renowned for the luxury of its inhabitants, is now no more than a ruinous town, whoſe houſes, built with mud and ſtraw, and narrow and miry ſtreets, exhibit every appearance of miſery and wretchedneſs. It is ſituated on the ſouthern bank of the Orontes, at the extremity of an old decayed bridge, and is covered to the ſouth by a mountain, upon the ſlope of which is a wall, built by the Cruſaders. The diſtance between the

the preſent town and this mountain may be about four hundred yards, which ſpace is occupied by gardens and heaps of rubbiſh, but preſents nothing intereſting.

Notwithſtanding the unpoliſhed manners of its inhabitants, Antioch was better calculated than Aleppo to be the emporium of the Europeans. By clearing the mouth of the Orontes, which is ſix leagues lower down, boats might have been towed up that river, though they could not have *ſailed* up, as Pococke has aſſerted; its current is too rapid. The natives, who never knew the name Orontes, call it, on account of the ſwiftneſs of its ſtream, El-aaſi *(e)*, that is, the Rebel. Its breadth, at Antioch, is about forty paces. Seven leagues above that town, it paſſes by a lake abounding in fiſh, and eſpecially in eels. A great quantity of theſe are ſalted every year, but not ſufficient for the numerous faſts of the Greek Chriſtians. It is to be remembered, we no longer hear at Antioch, either of the Grove of Daphne, or of the voluptuous ſcenes of which it was the theatre.

(*e*) This is the name which the Greek Geographers have rendered by *Axios*.

The

The plain of Antioch, though the ſoil of it is excellent, is uncultivated, and abandoned to the Turkmans; but the hills on the ſide of the Orontes, particularly oppoſite Serkin, abound in plantations of figs and olives, vines, and mulberry trees, which, a thing uncommon in Turkey, are planted in quincunx *(f)*, and exhibit a landſcape worthy our fineſt provinces.

The Macedonian king, Seleucus Nicator, who founded Antioch, built alſo, at the mouth of the Orontes, on the northern bank, a large and well fortified city, which bore his name, but of which at preſent, not a ſingle habitation remains: nothing is to be ſeen but heaps of rubbiſh, and works in the adjacent rock, which prove that this was once a place of very conſiderable importance. In the ſea, alſo, may be perceived the traces of two piers, which are indications of an ancient port, now choaked up. The inhabitants of the country go thither to fiſh, and call the name of the place Souaidia. From thence, as we proceed to the north, the ſea-coſt is ſhut in by a

*(f)* This mode of planting in *Quincunx*, is likewiſe in uſe among the Druzes, and is particularly mentioned by Baron de Tott.

chain of high mountains, known to the ancient geographers by the name of *Rhofus*: which name was probably derived from the Syriac, and ſtill ſubſiſts in that of *Ras-el-Kanzir*, or Cape of the Wild Boar, a headland on this coaſt.

The Gulph, towards the north-eaſt, is remarkable for nothing but the town of Alexandretta, or Skandaroon, of which it bears the name. This town, ſituated on the ſea-ſhore, is, properly ſpeaking, nothing but a village, without walls, in which the tombs are more numerous than the houſes, and which entirely owes its exiſtence to the road which it commands. This is the only road, in all Syria, where veſſels anchor on a ſolid bottom, without their cables being liable to chafe; but, in other reſpects, it has ſo many ſerious inconveniencies, that neceſſity alone can prevent the merchants from abandoning it.

Firſt, It is expoſed, during winter, to a wind, peculiar to this place, called by the French ſailors *le Raguier*, which, ruſhing from the ſnowy ſummits of the mountains, frequently forces ſhips to drag their anchors ſeveral leagues.

Secondly,

Secondly, when the ſnow begins to cover the mountains which ſurround the Gulph, tempeſtuous winds ariſe which prevent veſſels from entering for three or four months together.

Thirdly, The road from Alexandretta to Aleppo, by the plain, is infeſted by Curd robbers, who conceal themſelves in the neighbouring rocks *(g)*, and frequently attack and plunder the ſtrongeſt caravans.

Another reaſon, more forcible than theſe, is the unwholeſomeneſs of the air of Alexandretta, which is extreme. It may be affirmed, that it every year carries off one third of the crews of the veſſels which remain there during the ſummer; nay, ſhips frequently loſe all their men in two months. The ſeaſon for this epidemic diſorder is principally from May to the end of September: it is an intermitting fever of the moſt malignant kind, and is accompanied with obſtructions of the liver, which terminate in a dropſy. The cities of Tripoli, Acre, and Larneca in Cyprus,

*(g)* The place they are found in exactly correſponds with the Caſtle of Gyndarus, which, in the time of Strabo, was a haunt of robbers.

are

are ſubject to the ſame diſorder, though in a leſs degree. In all theſe places the ſame local circumſtances ſeem to have given birth to the contagion; the cauſe of it in all is to be aſcribed to the adjoining moraſſes, ſtagnant waters, and conſequent vapours and mephitic exhalations: a convincing proof of this is, that this diſorder does not prevail in ſeaſons when no rain has fallen. But, unfortunately, Alexandretta is condemned, from its ſituation, to be never wholly exempt from it; for the plain on which the town is built is ſo low and flat *(b)* that the rivulets, finding no declivity, can never reach the ſea. When they are ſwelled by the winter rains, the ſea, ſwelled likewiſe by tempeſts, hinders their diſcharging themſelves into it; hence their waters, forced to ſpread themſelves, form lakes in the plain. On the approach of the ſummer, the waters become corrupted by the heat, and exhale vapours equally corrupt, which cannot diſperſe, being confined by the mountains that encircle the gulph. The

*(b)* This plain, which is about a league in breadth, and lies at the foot of the mountains, has been formed by the earth, brought down by the torrents and rains.

entrance

entrance of the bay, beſides, lies to the weſt, which, in thoſe countries, is the moſt unhealthy expoſure when it correſponds with the ſea. The labour neceſſary to remedy this would be immenſe, and after all inſufficient; and, indeed, ſuch an undertaking would be abſolutely impoſſible, under a government like that of the Turks. A few years ago, the merchants of Aleppo, diſguſted with the numerous inconveniencies of Alexandretta, wiſhed to abandon that port and carry the trade to Latakia. They propoſed to the Pacha of Tripoli to repair the harbour at their own expence, provided he would grant them an exemption from all duties for ten years. To induce him to comply with their requeſt, the agent they employed talked much of the advantage which would, *in time*, reſult to the whole country: "But, what ſignifies to me what "may happen *in time*, replied the Pacha? I "was yeſterday at Marach; to-morrow, per-"haps, I ſhall be at Djedda; why ſhould I "deprive myſelf of preſent advantages, which "are certain, for future benefits I cannot "hope to partake?" The European factors were obliged therefore to remain at Skandaroon.

roon. There are three of theſe factors, two for the French, and one for the Engliſh and Venetians. The only curioſity which they have to amuſe ſtrangers with conſiſts in ſix or ſeven marble monuments, ſent from England, on which you read: *Here lies ſuch a one, carried off in the flower of his age, by the fatal effects of a contagious air.* The ſight of theſe is the more diſtreſſing, as the languid air, yellow complexion, livid eyes, and dropſical bellies of thoſe who ſhew them, make it but too probable they cannot long eſcape the ſame fate. It is true, they have ſome reſource in the village of Bailan, the pure air and excellent waters of which ſurprizingly reſtore the ſick. This village, ſituated among the mountains, three leagues from Alexandretta, on the road to Aleppo, preſents the moſt pictureſque appearance. It is built among precipices in a narrow and deep valley, from whence the Gulph of Skandaroon is ſeen as through a tube. The houſes, built againſt the ſteep declivities of the two mountains, are ſo diſpoſed, that the terraces of the lower ſerve as ſtreets and courts to thoſe above. In winter, caſcades pour down on every ſide, which ſtun the

inhabitants with their noiſe, and, in their fall, ſometimes, rend off large pieces of the rocks, and even throw down the houſes. The cold is very ſevere there, during that ſeaſon, but the ſummer delightful; the inhabitants, who ſpeak only Turkiſh, live on their goats and buffaloes, and the produce of a few gardens which they cultivate. The Aga, for ſome years paſt, has applied the duties of the cuſtom-houſe of Alexandretta to his own uſe, and rendered himſelf almoſt independent of the Pacha of Aleppo. The Turkiſh empire is full of ſuch rebels, who frequently die in peaceable poſſeſſion of their uſurpations.

On the road from Alexandretta to Aleppo, at the laſt place travellers ſleep at, is the village of Martawan, celebrated among the Turks and Europeans, on account of an extraordinary practice of the inhabitants, who let out their wives and daughters for a trifling ſum *(i)*. This proſtitution, held in abhorrence by the Arabs, ſeems to me to have

(*i*) See Baron de Tott's Memoirs. M. du Rocher, now reſident of the king of France with the Emperor of Morocco, has furniſhed me with many entertaining anecdotes reſpecting this whimſical cuſtom, but too indelicate for the preſs. T.

originated

originated in ſome religious cuſtom, which ought perhaps to be ſought for in the ancient worſhip of the goddeſs Venus, or to be attributed to the community of women permitted by the Anſarians, to which tribe the inhabitants of Martawan belong. The Franks pretend that the women are pretty; but it is probable that long abſtinence at ſea, and the vanity of intrigue, conſtitute all their merit; for their exterior announces nothing but the diſguſting uncleanlineſs of miſery.

In the mountains which terminate the Pachalic of Aleppo to the north, we find Kles and Aentah, two conſiderable villages. They are inhabited by Armenian Chriſtians, Curds, and Mahometans, who, notwithſtanding the difference of their religions, live in friendſhip, and, by their union, are enabled to reſiſt the Pacha, whom they often brave, and enjoy in tranquillity the produce of their flocks, bees, and a few cultivated ſpots on which they grow corn and tobacco *(k)*.

(*k*) Theſe towns ſucceſsfully revolted in 1780, againſt the tyranny of the Second Abdi Pacha, mentioned by our author. T.

Two days journey to the north-eaſt of Aleppo is the town of Mambedj, ſo celebrated in ancient times, under the names of Bambyce, and Hierapolis (*l*). No traces remain of the temple of that great goddeſs with whoſe worſhip Lucian has made us acquainted. The only remarkable monument is a ſubterraneous canal, which conducts the water from the mountains of the north for the diſtance of four leagues. All this country was formerly full of ſuch aqueducts: the Aſſyrians, Medes, and Perſians, eſteemed it a religious duty to convey the water to the deſert, in order to multiply, according to the precepts of Zoroaſter, *the principles of life and of abundance:* we therefore, at every ſtep, meet with aſtoniſhing proofs of ancient population. Along the whole road from Aleppo to Hama, we diſcover the ruins of ancient villages, ciſterns fallen in, and the remains of fortreſſes, nay even of temples. I particularly remarked a quantity of oval and round hillocks, which from the nature of the earth, and their ſteep aſcent on this

(*l*) The name of Hierapolis ſtill ſubſiſts in that of another village, called *Yeraclés*, and ſituated on the Euphrates.

even

even plain, evidently appear to have been the work of man. The reader may form ſome idea of the labour they muſt have coſt from the dimenſions of that of Kan-Shaikoun, which I found to be ſeven hundred and twenty paces, or fourteen hundred French feet in circumference, and near a hundred feet high. Theſe hillocks, ſcattered at regular intervals of nearly a league from each other, are covered with the ruins of citadels, and, probably, were alſo places ſacred to the adoration of ſome deity, according to the well known practice of the ancients, of worſhipping "on "high places." Theſe conjectures ſeem confirmed by the tradition of the inhabitants, who attribute all theſe works to the infidels. At preſent, inſtead of that cultivation which might be expected, we meet with nothing but waſte and deſolated lands: yet the ſoil is of a good quality, and the ſmall quantity of grain, cotton, and ſeſamum it produces is excellent. But all the frontiers of the Deſert are deſtitute of ſprings and running water. That of the wells is brackiſh; and the winter rains, on which the inhabitants place their principal dependance, ſometimes fail. For this reaſon, nothing can be conceived more

melancholy than these parched and dusty plains, without trees, and without verdure; or more miserable than the appearance of the straw and earthen huts which form their villages; nor can any greater wretchedness be imagined than that of the peasants, exposed at once to the oppression of the Turks, and the robberies of the Bedouin Arabs. The tribes which encamp in these plains are called the Mawalis; they are the most powerful, and the richest among the Arabs, as they pay some attention to agriculture, and partake in the trade of the caravans which go from Aleppo, either to Bassora or Damascus, or to Tripoli by the way of Hama.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

### *Of the Pachalic of Tripoli.*

THE Pachalic of Tripoli comprehends the country which ſtretches along the Mediterranean, from Latakia to the Narh-el-Kelb, and is bounded on the weſt by that torrent, and the chain of mountains which overlook the Orontes.

The principal part of this government is hilly; the ſea-coaſt alone, between Tripoli and Latakia, is a level country. The numerous rivulets which water it contribute greatly to its fertility; but notwithſtanding this advantage, this plain is much leſs cultivated than the mountains, without even excepting Lebanon, with its numerous rocks and pine-trees. Its chief productions are corn, barley, and cotton. In the territory of Latakia tobacco and olives are principally cultivated; but in Lebanon, and the Keſraouan, white mulberry-trees and vineyards.

This Pachalic contains ſeveral different tribes and religions. From Lebanon to above

Latakia, the mountains are peopled by the Anſarians of whom I have before ſpoken; Lebanon and the Keſraouan are inhabited entirely by the Maronites, and the ſea-coaſt and cities, by Schiſmatic Greeks, and Latins, Turks, and deſcendants of the Arabs.

The Pacha of Tripoli enjoys all the privileges of his place. The military and finances are in his hands; he holds the government in quality of a farm from the Porte, on a leaſe of one year only, at the annual rent of ſeven hundred and fifty purſes, (thirty nine thouſand pounds); beſides this, he is obliged to ſupply the Caravan of Mecca with corn, barley, rice, and other proviſions, the expences of which are eſtimated at ſeven hundred and fifty purſes more. He is himſelf obliged to conduct this convoy into the Deſert, to meet the pilgrims. To indemnify him for theſe expences he receives the Miri, the cuſtoms, the farms of the Anſarians and the Keſraouan, and adds to all theſe numerous annual extortions and exactions; indeed had he no more than this laſt article, his profits would be conſiderable. He maintains about five hundred cavalry, as ill provided as

as thoſe of Aleppo, and a few Mograbian infantry.

The Pacha of Tripoli has always been deſirous of perſonally governing the country of the Anſarians, and the Maronites; but theſe people having invariably oppoſed by force the entrance of the Turks into their mountains, he has been conſtrained to abandon the collection of the tribute to under farmers, approved of by the inhabitants. Their office is not, like his, held only for a year, but is diſpoſed of by auction; whence ariſes a competition of wealthy perſons, who perpetually afford him the means of exciting or fomenting troubles in the tributary nation: this adminiſtration is the ſame we find in hiſtory to have been uſual with the ancient Perſians and Aſſyrians, and appears to have been frequent in all ages in the eaſtern world.

The farm of the Anſarians is at this day divided between three chiefs or *Mokaddamin*; that of the Maronites is wholly in the hands of the Emir Youſef, who pays thirty purſes (fifteen hundred and ſixty pounds) for it. Among the remarkable places in this Pachalic we muſt firſt mention Tripoli,

Tripoli *(m)*, in Arabic *Tarabolos*, the reſidence of the Pacha. It is ſituated on the river Kadiſha, at the diſtance of a quarter of a league from its mouth, and preciſely at the foot of Mount Lebanon, which overlooks and ſurrounds it with its branches to the eaſt, the ſouth, and even a little to the north-weſt. It is ſeparated from the ſea by a ſmall triangular plain, half a league in breadth, at the point of which is the village where the veſſels land their goods. The Franks call this village *la Marine (n)*, the general name given by them to theſe places in the Levant. There is no harbour but a ſimple road, which extends from the ſhore to the ſhoals called *The Rabbit and Pigeon Iſlands*. The bottom is rocky, and mariners are not fond of remaining here, as the cables are ſoon worn out, and the veſſels expoſed to the north-weſt winds, which are frequent and violent on all this coaſt. In the time of the Cruſades, this

(*m*) A Greek name, ſignifying *three cities*, it having been built by three colonies, from Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus, who each of them formed ſettlements ſo near each other, that they were ſoon united into one.

(*n*) Such maritime places were by the ancients called *Majumæ*.

road

road was defended by towers, ſeven of which are ſtill ſubſiſting, from the mouth of the river to the village. They are ſtrong built, but now ſerve only as a place of reſort for birds of prey.

All the environs of Tripoli are laid out in orchards, where the nopal grows ſpontaneouſly, and the white mulberry is cultivated for the ſilk worm; and the pomegranate, the orange, and the lemon tree, for their fruit, which is of the greateſt beauty. But theſe places, though delightful to the eye, are unhealthy. Every year, from July to September, epidemic fevers, like thoſe of Skandaroon and Cyprus, rage here: theſe are owing to the artificial inundations with which the mulberry trees are watered, in order that they may throw out their ſecond leaves. Beſides, as the city is open only to the weſt, the air does not circulate, and the ſpirits are in a conſtant ſtate of oppreſſion, which makes health at beſt but a kind of convaleſcence *(o)*. The air, though more humid, is

(*o*) Since my return from France, I have received accounts, that, in the ſpring 1785, there raged an epidemical diſorder, which deſolated Tripoli and the Kefrouan. It was a violent fever, accompanied with blue ſpots, which made

is more ſalubrious at *la Marine*, doubtleſs becauſe it has room to circulate. It is ſtill more ſo in the iſlands; and were the place in the hand of an enlightened government, the inhabitants ſhould be invited to live there. Nothing more would be neceſſary to induce them, than to convey water to the village by conduits, as ſeems formerly to have been done. It is worthy of obſervation, alſo, that the ſouthern ſhore of the ſmall plain is full of the ruins of habitations, and columns broken and buried in the earth, or in the ſea ſands. The Franks had employed a great number of them in the building their walls, in the remains of which they are ſtill to be ſeen laid croſsways.

The commerce of Tripoli conſiſts almoſt wholly in different coarſe ſilks, which are made uſe of for laces. It is obſerved, that they are every day loſing their quality. The reaſon aſſigned for which, by well informed

made it ſuſpected to have an affinity with the plague. What may be eſteemed ſingular, is, that it was obſerved to attack very few Mahometans, but made its chief ravages among the Chriſtians; whence it may be concluded it was, in a great meaſure, occaſioned by the unwholeſome food and meagre diet they live on during Lent.

perſons,

perſons, is, the decay of the mulberry trees, of which ſcarcely any thing now remains but ſome hollow trunks. A ſtranger inſtantly replies, why not plant new ones? But I anſwer, that is an European obſervation. Here they never plant; becauſe, were they to build or plant, the Pacha would ſay, this man has money; he would ſend for him, and demand it of him: ſhould he deny that he has any, he muſt ſuffer the baſtinado; and ſhould he confeſs, muſt ſtill receive it to extort from him the acknowledgment that he has ſtill more. Not that the Tripolitans are remarkable for their patience; they are, on the contrary, conſidered as extremely mutinous. Their title of Janiſaries, and the green turban they wear, in quality of *Sherifs*, inſpire them with the ſpirit of revolt. Ten or twelve years ago, the extortions of a Pacha drove them to extremities; they expelled him, and remained eight months independent; but the Porte ſent a man well verſed in her maxims, who, by dint of promiſes, oaths, and pardons, gained and diſperſed them, and concluded by putting to death eight hundred in one day, whoſe heads are ſtill to be ſeen in a cave near Kadiſha. Such is the government of the Turks!

The

The commerce of Tripoli is in the hands of the French alone. They have a conſul here, and three commercial houſes. They export ſilks, and ſpunges fiſhed up in the road; theſe they exchange for cloths, cochineal, ſugar, and Weſt India coffee; but this factory, both with reſpect to imports and exports, is inferior to its ſubordinate town Latakia.

The town of Latakia, founded by Seleucus Nicator, under the name of *Laodicca*, is ſituated at the baſe, and on the ſouthern ſide of a ſmall peninſula, which projects half a league into the ſea. Its port, like all the others on this coaſt, is a ſort of baſon, environed by a mole, the entrance of which is very narrow. It might contain five and twenty or thirty veſſels; but the Turks have ſuffered it ſo to be choaked up, as ſcarcely to admit four. Ships of above four hundred tons cannot ride there; and hardly a year paſſes, that one is not ſtranded in the entrance. Notwithſtanding this, Latakia carries on a very great commerce, conſiſting chiefly of tobacco, of which upwards of twenty cargoes are annually ſent to Damietta: the returns from thence are rice, which is bartered in Upper Syria

Syria for oils and cottons. In the time of Strabo, inſtead of tobacco, the exports conſiſted in its famous wines, the produce of the hill ſides. Even then, Egypt was the market by way of Alexandria. Have the ancients or the moderns gained by this exchange? Neither Latakia nor Tripoli can be mentioned as places of ſtrength; they have neither cannon nor ſoldiers; a ſingle privateer would make a conqueſt of them both. They are each ſuppoſed to contain from four to five thouſand inhabitants.

On the coaſt, between theſe towns, we meet with ſeveral inhabited villages, which formerly were large cities: ſuch are Djebila, Merkab, ſituated on a ſteep declivity, and Tartouſa; but we find ſtill more places which have only the half-deſtroyed remains of ancient habitations. Among the latter, one of the principal is the rock, or iſland of Rouad, formerly a powerful city and republic, known by the name of *Aradus*. Not a ſingle wall is remaining of all that multitude of houſes, which, according to Strabo, were built with more ſtories than even thoſe of Rome. The liberty enjoyed by the inhabitants had rendered it very populous, and it ſubſiſted

by naval commerce, manufactures, and arts. At preſent the iſland is deſerted; nor has tradition even retained the memory of a ſpring of freſh water in its environs, which the people of Aradus diſcovered at the bottom of the ſea, and from which they drew water, in time of war, by means of a leaden bell, and a leathern pipe fitted to its bottom.

To the ſouth of Tripoli is the country of the Keſraouan, which extends from Nahr-el-kelb, paſſing by Lebanon, as far as Tripoli. Djebail, the ancient Byblos, is the moſt conſiderable town in this territory: it has not, however, above ſix thouſand inhabitants. Its ancient port, which reſembles that of Latakia, is in a ſtill worſe ſituation; ſcarcely any traces of it remain. The river Ibrahim, the ancient *Adonis*, which is two leagues to the ſouthward, has the only bridge to be ſeen, that of Tripoli excepted, from thence to Antioch. It is of a ſingle arch, fifty feet wide, and upwards of thirty high; of a very light architecture, and appears to have been a work of the Arabs.

Among the mountains, the places moſt frequented by the Europeans, are the villages of Eden and Beſharrai, where the miſſionaries have

have a houſe. During the winter, many of the inhabitants leave their houſes under the ſnow, with ſomebody to guard them, and remove to the ſea-coaſt. Beſharrai is in the road to the Cedars, to which it is a journey of ſeven hours, though the diſtance be but three leagues. Theſe Cedars, ſo boaſted, reſemble many other wonders; they ſupport their reputation very indifferently on a near inſpection; the ſight of four or five large trees, which are all that remain, and have nothing remarkable in their appearance; is not worth the trouble it coſts the traveller to climb the precipices that lead to them.

On the frontiers of the Keſraouan, a league to the northward of Nahr-el-kelb, is the little village of Antoura, where the Jeſuits were eſtabliſhed in a houſe, which, though it has not the ſplendor of thoſe in Europe, is a neat and ſimple manſion. Its ſituation on the ſide of the hill, the limpid waters which refreſh its vineyards and mulberry trees, the proſpect it commands over the valley, and the diſtant view it has of the ſea, render it a moſt agreeable hermitage. The Jeſuits attempted to annex to it a convent of nuns, ſituated at a quarter of a league's diſtance in front;

but the Greek Chriſtians having diſpoſſeſſed them, they built one cloſe to them, under the name of the *Viſitation*. They had alſo built, two hundred paces higher, a ſeminary, which they wiſhed to fill with Maronite and Latin-Greek ſtudents; but it has remained deſerted. The Lazarites, who have ſucceeded them, maintain a ſuperior curate, and a lay-brother at Antoura, who do the duties of the miſſion with equal charity, politeneſs, and decency.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Of the Pachalic of Saide, called likewiſe the Pachalic of Acre.*

To the ſouth of the Pachalic of Tripoli, and on the ſame coaſt, is a third Pachalic, that, till now, has borne the name of the city of Saide, its capital, but may henceforward aſſume that of Acre, to which place the Pacha had of late years transferred his reſidence. The extent of this government has greatly varied at different times. Before Shaik Daher, it included the country of the Druzes, and the whole coaſt from Nahr-el-kelb, as far as Mount Carmel. In proportion as Daher obtained power, he infringed on the territories of the Pacha, and reduced him to the city of Saide, from which he was at laſt expelled; but after the ruin of Daher, the government reſumed its ancient limits. Djezzar, who ſucceeded that chief in quality of Pacha for the Turks, has annexed to the Pachalic the countries of Safad, Tabaria, and Balbec, formerly tributary to Damaſcus, and the territory of Kaiſaria, (the ancient Ceſa-

rea) inhabited by the Arabs of Saker. This Pacha, perceiving the advantage of the works erected by Daher at Acre, transferred his residence to that city, which is now become the capital of the province.

By these different augmentations, the Pachalic of Acre at present includes all the country from the Nahr-el-kelb, to the south of Kaisaria, between the Mediterranean to the west, and at Anti-Lebanon, and the upper part of the course of the Jordan, to the east. It derives the more importance from this extent, as it unites the valuable advantages of situation and soil. The plains of Acre, Esdrelon, Sour, Havula, and the Lower Bekaa, are justly boasted for their fertility. Corn, barley, maize, cotton, and sesamum, produce, notwithstanding the imperfection of the culture, twenty and twenty-five for one. The country of Kaisaria possesses a forest of oaks, the only one in Syria. Safad furnishes cottons, which, from their whiteness, are held in as high estimation as those of Cyprus. The neighbouring mountains of Sour produce as good tobacco as that of Latakia, and in a part of them is made a perfume of cloves, which

which is reſerved excluſively for the uſe of the Sultan and his women. The country of the Druzes abounds in wines and ſilks; in ſhort, from the ſituation of the coaſt, and the number of its creeks, this Pachalic neceſſarily becomes the emporium of Damaſcus and all the interior parts of Syria.

The Pacha enjoys all the privileges, and receives all the emoluments of his office; he is deſpotic governor, and farmer general. He remits to the Porte annually the fixed ſum of ſeven hundred and fifty purſes; but he, as well as the Pacha of Tripoli, is obliged to furniſh the *Djerde* or proviſions for the pilgrims of Mecca. His expences for this article are eſtimated likewiſe at ſeven hundred and fifty purſes, in rice, corn, barley, &c. The time limited for his government is a year, but this is frequently prolonged. His revenues are, the Miri; the farms of the tributaries, as the Druzes, the Motoualis, and ſome Arab tribes; the numerous fees from ſucceſſions and extortions; and the produce of the cuſtoms on the exports, imports, and the conveyance of merchandize; which article alone amounted to one thouſand purſes (above fifty thouſand pounds), when Djezzar farmed all the har-

bours and creeks in 1784. This Pacha likewiſe, as is uſual with the Turkiſh governors in Aſia, cultivates lands on his own account, enters into partnerſhip with merchants and manufacturers, and lends out money for intereſt to huſbandmen and traders. The total, from theſe various emoluments, is eſtimated at between nine and ten millions of French money, (about four hundred thouſand pounds). If we compare with this his tribute, which, with the ſupply of the caravan, amounts only to fifteen hundred purſes, or one million, eight hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand livres, (ſeventy-eight thouſand one hundred and twenty-five pounds), we muſt be aſtoniſhed that the Porte allows him ſuch enormous profits; but this alſo is a part of the policy of the Divan. The tribute once ſettled never varies; only, if the Pacha becomes rich, he is ſqueezed by extraordinary demands. He is often left to accumulate in peace; but when he has once amaſſed great wealth, ſome expedient is always contrived to bring to Conſtantinople his coffers or his head.

At preſent, the Porte is on good terms with Djezzar, on account, it is ſaid, of his former ſervices; in fact, he greatly contributed to the

the ruin of Daher. He deſtroyed the family of that prince, reſtrained the Bedouins of Saker, humbled the Druzes, and nearly annihilated the Motoualis. Theſe ſucceſſes have cauſed him to be continued in his government for ten years. He has lately received the three tails, and the title of *Wazir* (Viſir), which accompanies them (*p*); but the Porte, as uſual, begins to take umbrage at his good fortune. She is alarmed at his enterprizing ſpirit; and he, on his ſide, is apprehenſive of the duplicity of the Divan: ſo that a mutual diſtruſt prevails, from which ſome important conſequences may well be expected. He maintains a greater number of ſoldiers, and in better condition, than any other Pacha, and takes care to enroll none but thoſe of his own country; that is to ſay, Boſhnaks and Arnauts; their number is about nine hundred horſemen. Added to theſe, he has nine thouſand Mograbian infantry. The gates of his frontier towns have regular guards, which is uſual in the reſt of Syria.

By ſea, he has one frigate, two galiots, and a xebeck, which he has lately taken from

(*p*) Every Pacha of three tails is ſtiled *Viſir*.

the Malteſe. By theſe precautions, apparently intended to ſecure him from foreign enemies, he has put himſelf on his guard againſt the ſtratagems of the Divan. More than one attempt has been made to deſtroy him by Capidjis; but he has watched them ſo narrowly, that they have not been able to effect any thing; and the *cholic*, of which two or three of them have ſuddenly died, has cooled the zeal of thoſe who take upon them ſo tickliſh an employment. Beſides, he conſtantly maintains ſpies in pay, in the *Serai*, or palace of the Sultan; and his money procures him a numerous party ever ready to defend his conduct. By theſe means he has juſt obtained the Pachalic of Damaſcus, to which he had long aſpired, and which is, in fact, the moſt important in all Syria He has reſigned that of Acre to a Mamlouk, named Selim, his friend, and the companion of his fortune; but this man is ſo devoted to him, that Djezzar may be conſidered as in poſſeſſion of both the governments. It is ſaid, he is ſoliciting that of Aleppo; which if he procures, he will poſſeſs nearly the whole of Syria, and the Porte poſſibly may find in him a rebel more dangerous than Daher; but, as conjectures concerning ſuch events

events are of little uſe, I ſhall paſs, without purſuing them any further, to give ſome deſcription of the moſt remarkable places in this Pachalic *(q)*.

The firſt that preſents itſelf, as we proceed along the coaſt, is the town of Berytus, which the Arabs pronounce *Bairout (r)*, like the ancient Greeks. It is ſituated in a plain, which, from the foot of Lebanon, runs out into the ſea, narrowing to a point, about two leagues from the ordinary line of the ſhore, and on the north ſide forms a pretty long road, which receives the river of Nahr-el-Salib, called alſo Nahr-Bairout. This river is liable to ſuch frequent floods in winter, as to have occaſioned the building of a conſiderable bridge: but it is in ſo ruinous a ſtate as to be impaſſable. The bottom of the road is rock, which chafes the cables, and renders it very inſecure. From hence, as we proceed weſt-

(*q*) It is aſſerted on good authority, that Djezzar, dreading a viſit from his *old friend*, the *Captain Pacha*, now employed in quelling the revolt in Egypt, has quitted his government, and prudently fled with all his ill-gotten wealth, it is ſuppoſed, into Boſnia, his native country, at the commencement of the year 1787. T.

(*r*) This is in fact the true pronunciation of the Greek word Βηρυτ.

ward

ward towards the point, we reach, after an hour's journey, the town of Bairout. This, till lately, belonged to the Druzes; but Djezzar thought proper, as we have ſeen, to take it from them, and place in it a Turkiſh garriſon, It ſtill continues, however, to be the emporium of the Maronites and the Druzes, where they export their cottons and ſilks, almoſt all of which are ſent to Cairo. In return, they receive rice, tobacco, coffee, and ſpecie, which they exchange again for the corn of the Bekaa, and the Hauran. This commerce maintains near ſix thouſand perſons. The dialect of the inhabitants is juſtly cenſured as the moſt corrupt of any in the country; it unites in itſelf the twelve faults enumerated by the Arabian grammarians.

The port of Bairout, formed like all the others on the coaſt, by a pier, is, like them, choaked up with ſands and ruins. The town is ſurrounded by a wall, the ſoft and ſandy ſtone of which may be pierced by a cannon ball, without breaking or crumbling; which was unfavourable to the Ruſſians in their attack; but in other reſpects this wall, and its old towers, are defenceleſs. Two in-

conveniences will prevent Bairout from ever becoming a place of ſtrength; for it is commanded by a chain of hills to the ſouth-eaſt, and is intirely deſtitute of water, which the women are obliged to fetch from a well at the diſtance of half a quarter of a league, though what they find there is but indifferent. Djezzar has undertaken to conſtruct a public fountain, as he has done at Acre; but the canal which I ſaw dug, will ſoon become uſeleſs. By digging, in order to form reſervoirs, ſubterraneous ruins have been diſcovered, from which it appears, that the modern town is built on the ancient one. The ſame may be obſerved of Latakia, Antioch, Tripoli, Saide, and the greater part of the towns on the coaſt, which has been occaſioned by earthquakes, that have deſtroyed them at different periods. We find likewiſe, without the walls, to the weſt, heaps of rubbiſh, and ſome ſhafts of columns, which indicate that Bairout has been formerly much larger than at preſent. The plain around it is entirely planted with white mulberry trees, which, unlike thoſe of Tripoli, are young and flouriſhing; becauſe, in the territories of the Druzes, there is no danger in renewing them.

The

The ſilk, therefore, produced here, is of the very fineſt quality. As we deſcend from the mountains, no proſpect can be more delightful than to behold, from their ſummits or declivities, the rich carpet of verdure, formed by the tops of theſe uſeful trees in the diſtant bottom of the valley.

In ſummer, it is inconvenient to reſide at Bairout, on account of the heat, and the warmth of the water; the town, however, is not unhealthy, though it is ſaid to have been ſo formerly. It has ceaſed to be ſo ſince the Emir Fakr-el-din planted a wood of fir trees, which are ſtill ſtanding, a league to the ſouthward of the town. The monks of Mahr-Hanna, who are not ſyſtematical philoſophers, have made the ſame obſervation reſpecting ſeveral convents; they even aſſert, that ſince the heights have been covered with pines, the waters of ſeveral ſprings have become more abundant, and more ſalubrious; which agrees with other known facts *(s)*.

The

(*s*) Dr. Franklin, to whom mankind are indebted for ſo much, in every branch of knowledge, has given very ſatisfactory reaſons for this ſalutary effect of trees, particularly pines; the ſubject has been well treated too by ſeveral Engliſh

The country of the Druzes affords few intereſting places. The moſt remarkable is *Dair-el-Kamar*, or the Houſe of the Moon, which is the capital and reſidence of the Emirs. It is not a city, but a large town ill built, and very dirty. It is ſituated on the back of a mountain, at the foot of which flows one of the branches of the ancient river Tamras, at preſent the rivulet of Damour. It is inhabited by Greek Catholics and Schiſmatics, Maronites and Druzes, to the number of fifteen or eighteen hundred. The *Serai*, or palace of the prince, is only a large wretched houſe falling to ruin.

I muſt alſo mention Zahla, a village at the foot of the mountains in the valley of *Bekaa*. During the laſt twenty years this place is become the centre of correſpondence between Balbec, Damaſcus, Bairout, and the interior of the Mountains. It is even ſaid that counterfeit money is made here; but the clumſy artiſts, though they can imitate the Turkiſh piaſters, have not been able to approach the workmanſhip of the German Dollars.

Engliſh and French philoſophers; among others, by the *Marquis de Chaſtellux*, in his *Travels in North America* under the article *Virginia*. T.

I neglected

I neglected to obſerve that the country of the Druzes is divided into *Katas*, ſections, or diſtricts, which have each of them a diſtinct character. The *Matra*, which is to the north, is the moſt ſtony, and abounds moſt in iron. The *Garb* affords the moſt beautiful pines. The *Sahel*, or *flat* Country, which lies next the ſea, produces mulberry-trees and vineyards. The *Shouf*, in which Dair-el-Kamar is ſituated, contains the greateſt number of Okkals, and produces the fineſt ſilks. The *Tefah*, or diſtrict of Apples, which is to the ſouth, abounds in that ſpecies of fruit. The *Shakîf* grows the beſt tobacco, and the name of *Djourd* is given to all the higher country and the coldeſt of the mountains: to this diſtrict in ſummer the ſhepherds retire with their flocks.

I have already ſaid that the Druzes had received among them the Greek Chriſtians and Maronites, and granted them lands to build convents on. The Greek Catholics, availing themſelves of this permiſſion, have founded twelve within the laſt ſeventy years. The principal of theſe is Mar-Hanna. This monaſtery is ſituated oppoſite the village of Shouair, on a ſteep declivity, at the bottom of which

which a torrent runs in winter into the Nahr-el-kelb. The convent built amid rocks and blocks of ſtone is far from magnificent, and conſiſts of a dormitory with two rows of little cells, above which is a terrace ſubſtantially vaulted; it maintains forty monks. Its chief merit conſiſts in an Arabic Printing-Preſs, the only one which has ſucceeded in the Turkiſh empire. This has been eſtabliſhed about fifty years, and the reader will perhaps not be offended if I ſay ſomething of its hiſtory.

At the commencement of the preſent century, the Jeſuits, profiting by the reſpect which the protection of France procured them, manifeſted, in their houſe at Aleppo, that zeal for the improvement of knowledge which they have every where ſhewn. They had founded a ſchool in that city, intended to educate the children of Chriſtians in the doctrines of the Catholic religion, and enable them to confute heretics, which is always a principal object with the miſſionaries; whence reſults a rage for controverſy, which cauſes perpetual differences among the partiſans of the various ſects in the eaſt. The Latins of Aleppo, excited by the

the Jeſuits, preſently recommenced as heretofore, their diſputations with the Greeks; but as logic requires a methodical acquaintance with language, and the Chriſtians, excluded from the Mahometan-ſchools, knew nothing but the vulgar Arabic, they were unable to indulge their paſſion for controverſy in writing. To remedy this, the Latins determined to ſtudy the Arabic language grammatically. The pride of the Mahometan Doctors at firſt refuſed to lay open their learning to the *Infidels*, but, their avarice overpowered their ſcruples; and, for a few purſes, this ſo much boaſted ſcience of grammar, and *the Nahou*, was introduced among the Chriſtians. The ſtudent who diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt by his progreſs was named Abd-allah-Zaker, who to his own deſire of learning, added an ardent zeal to promulgate his knowledge and his opinions. It is impoſſible to determine to what length this ſpirit of making proſelytes might have been carried, at Aleppo, had not an accident, not unuſual in Turkey, diſturbed its progreſs. The Schiſmatics, vexed at the attacks of Abd-allah, endeavoured to procure his ruin at Conſtantinople. The Patriarch, excited by the

the prieſts, repreſented him to the Viſir as a dangerous man; the Viſir, accuſtomed to theſe diſputes, feigned to pay no attention to his complaint; but the patriarch, backing his reaſons with a few purſes, the Viſir delivered him a *Kat-ſherif*, or warrant of the Sultan, which, according to cuſtom, contained an order to cut off Abd-allah's head. Fortunately he received timely warning, and eſcaped into Lebanon, where his life was in ſafety: but in quitting his country, he by no means abandoned his ideas of reformation, and was more reſolutely bent than ever on propagating his opinions. This he was only able to effect by writings; and manuſcripts ſeemed to him an inadequate method. He was no ſtranger to the advantages of the preſs, and had the courage to form the three-fold project of writing, founding types, and printing; he ſucceeded in this enterprize from the natural goodneſs of his underſtanding, and the knowledge he had of the art of engraving, which he had already practiſed in his profeſſion as a jeweller. He ſtood in need of an aſſociate, and was lucky enough to find one who entered into his deſigns. His brother, who was Superior at Mar-Hanna, prevailed on

him to make that convent his reſidence, and from that time, abandoning every other care, he gave himſelf up entirely to the execution of his project. His zeal and induſtry had ſuch ſucceſs, that in the year 1733, he publiſhed the Pſalms of David in one volume. His characters were found ſo correct and beautiful, that even his enemies purchaſed his book; and ſince that period there have been ten impreſſions of it; new characters have been founded, but nothing has been executed ſuperior to his. They perfectly imitate handwriting; they expreſs the full and the fine letters, and have not the meagre and ſtraggling appearance of the Arabic characters of Europe. He paſſed twenty years in this manner, printing different works, which, in general, were tranſlations of our books of devotion. Not that he was acquainted with any of the European languages, but the Jeſuits had already tranſlated ſeveral books, and as their Arabic was extremely bad, he corrected their tranſlations, and often ſubſtituted his own verſion, which is a model of purity and elegance. The Arabic he wrote was remarkable for a clear, preciſe, and harmonious ſtile, of which that language had been thought

thought incapable, and which proves that, ſhould it ever be cultivated by a learned people, it will become one of the moſt copious and expreſſive in the world. After the death of Abd-allah, which happened about 1755, he was ſucceeded by his pupil; and his ſucceſſors were the religious of the houſe; they have continued to found letters and to print, but the buſineſs is at preſent on the decline, and ſeems likely to be ſoon entirely laid aſide. The books have but little ſale, except the Pſalter, which is the claſſic of the Chriſtian children, and for which there is a continual demand. The expences are conſiderable, as the paper comes from Europe, and the labour is very ſlow. A little art would remedy the firſt inconvenience, but the latter is radical. The Arabic characters requiring to be connected together, to join them well and place them in a right line requires an immenſe and minute attention. Beſides this, the combination of the letters varying according as they occur, at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of a word, it is neceſſary to found a great number of double letters; by which means the caſes being too multiplied, are not collected under

tthe hand of a compoſitor; but he is obliged to run the whole length of a table eighteen feet long, and ſeek for his letters in near nine hundred diviſions: hence a loſs of time which will never allow Arabic Preſſes to attain the perfection of ours. As for the inconſiderable ſale of the books, this muſt be attributed to the bad choice they have made of them. Inſtead of giving verſions of works of real utility, calculated to awaken a taſte for the arts indiſcriminately among all the Arabs, they have only tranſlated myſtic books peculiar to the Chriſtians, which, by their miſanthropic morality, are formed to excite a diſguſt for all ſcience, and even for life itſelf. Of this the reader will judge from the following Catalogue:

CATALOGUE *of the Books printed at the Convent of* MAR-HANNA-EL-SHOUAIR, *in the mountains of the Druzes.*

1. THE balance of Time, or the Difference between Time and Eternity, by Father Nieremberg, Jeſuit.

1. Mizân-el-Zaman.

2. The

2. The Vanity of the World, by Didaco Stella, Jeſuit.

3. The Sinner's Guide, by Louis de Grenade, Jeſuit.

4. The Prieſt's Guide.

5. The Chriſtian's Guide.

6. The Food of the Soul.

7. The Contemplation of Paſſion Week.

8. Chriſtian Doctrine.

9. Expoſition of the Seven Penitential Pſalms.

10. The Pſalms of David, *tranſlated from the Greek*.

11. The Prophecies.

12. The Goſpel and Epiſtles.

13. Hourly prayers *(Les Heures Chretiennes)*; to which is added, the Chriſtian Perfection of Rodriguez, and the Rules of the Monks; *both printed at Rome*.

2. Abatil-el-Aalam. 3. Morſhed-el-Kati. 4. Morſhed-el-Kahen. 5. Morſhed-el-Maſihi. 6. Koutel Nafs. 7. Taammol-el-Aſboua. 8. Taalim-el-Maſihi. 9. Taffir-el-Sabat. 10. El Mazamir. 11. El Onbouat. 12. El-Endjil wa el Raſayel. 13. El-Soueyat.

In Manuſcripts this Convent poſſeſſes;

1. The Imitation of Jeſus Chriſt.

2. The Garden of the Monks, or life of the Holy Fathers of the Deſert.

3. Moral Theology of Buzembaum.

4. The Sermons of Segneri.

5. Theology of St. Thomas, in 4 vol. *folio*, the copying of which coſt one thouſand two hundred and fifty livres *(52l.)*.

6. Sermons of St. John Chryſoſtom.

7. Principles of Laws, by Claude Virtieu.

8. * Theological diſputes of the Monk George.

9. Logic, tranſlated from the Italian, by a Maronite.

10. * The Light of Hearts, by Paul of Smyrna, a converted Jew.

11. * Queſtions and Enquiries concerning Grammar, and *the Nahou*, by Biſhop Germain, Maronite.

1. Taklid-el-*Masih*. 2. Beſtan el Rohoban. 3. Elm el Nia l'Bouzembaoum. 4. Maouaez Sainari. 5. Lahout Mar Toume. 6. Mawaez Fomm el Dahab. 7. Kawaed el Naouamis l'Kloud Firtiou. 8. Madjadalet el Anba Djordji. 9. El Mantek. 10. Nour el. Aebab. 11. El Mataleb wa el Mebâhes.

12. * Poems

12. * Poems of the ſame, on pious ſubjects.

13. * Poems of the Curate Nicholas, brother of Abdallah Zaker.

14. * Abridgment of the Arabic Dictionary, called *the Ocean*.

N. B. *All theſe are the productions of Chriſtians; thoſe marked with a ſtar * were originally written in Arabic: the following are Mahometan works.*

1. The Koran.

2. The *Ocean* of the Arabic Tongue, tranſlated by Golius.

3. The Thouſand Diſtichs of Ebn-el-Malek on Grammar.

4. Explication of the Thouſand Diſtichs.

5. Grammar of Adjeroumia.

6. Rhetoric of Taftazani.

7. Seſſions, or Pleaſant Stories of Hariri.

8. Poems of Omar-ebn-el-Fardi, of the amorous kind.

12. Diwan Djermanos. 13. Diwan Ankoula. 14. Mokataſar el Kamous.—1. Koran. 2. El Kamous l'Firowzàbadi. 3. El Alf bait l'Ebn-el-malek. 4. Tafsir el-alf-bait. 5. El-Adjiroumia. 6. Elm el Bayan l'Taftazani. 7. Makamat el Hariri. 8. Diwan omar Ebn el fardi.

9. Science of the Arabic Tongue; a ſmall book in the nature of the *Synonymes Francais*, of Abbé Girard.

10. Medicine of Ebn-Sina, (Avicenna).

11. Simples and Drugs, tranſlated from Dioſcorides, by Ebn-el-Bitar.

12. Diſpute of the Phyſicians.

13. Theological Fragments on the different Sects of the World.

14. A little Book of Tales (of little value) from which I have an extract.

15. Hiſtory of the Jews, by Joſephus, a very incorrect tranſlation.

A ſmall book of Aſtronomy, on the principles of Ptolemy, and ſome others of no value.

This is all the library of the convent of Mar-Hanna, from which we may form an idea of the literature of Syria, ſince, excepting one poſſeſſed by Djezzar, there does not exiſt another. Among the original books, there is not one, which, in fact, merits a

9. Fakan el Logat. 10. El tob l'Ebn ſina. 11. El Mofradat. 12. Daouat el Otobba. 13. Abarat el Motakallamin. 14. Nadim el wahid. 15. Tarik el Yhoud, l'Youſefous.

tranſlation.

tranſlation. Even the *Seſſions* of *Hariri*, are only intereſting from their ſtyle, and, in the whole order, there is but one monk who underſtands them, nor are the others found much more intelligible by his brethren in general. In the adminiſtration of this houſe, and the manners of the religious who inhabit it, we find ſome ſingularities which deſerve our notice.

Their order is that of Saint Baſil, who is to the Orientals what Saint Benedict is to the weſtern Chriſtians, except that they have adopted a few alterations in conſequence of their peculiar ſituation, and the court of Rome has given her ſanction to the code they drew up thirty years ago. They may pronounce the vows at the age of ſixteen, for it has ever been the aim of all monaſtic legiſlators to captivate the minds of their proſelytes at an early age, that they may more implicitly comply with their inſtitutions. Theſe vows are, as every where elſe, vows of poverty, obedience, devotion to the order, and chaſtity; and it muſt be allowed, that they are more ſtrictly obſerved in this country than in Europe. The condition of the oriental Monks is infinitely more hard than

that

that of the European. We may judge of this from the following deſcription of their domeſtic life. Every day they have ſeven hours prayers at church, from which no perſon is exempted. They riſe at four in the morning, go to bed at nine in the evening, and make only two meals, viz. at nine and five. They live perpetually on meagre diet, and hardly allow themſelves fleſh meat in the moſt critical diſorders. Like the other Greeks, they have three Lents a year, and a multitude of faſts, during which they neither eat eggs, nor milk, nor butter, nor even cheeſe. Almoſt the whole year they live on lentils and beans with oil, rice and butter, curds, olives, and a little ſalt fiſh. Their bread is a little coarſe loaf, badly leavened, which ſerves two days, and is freſh made only once a week. With this food, they pretend to be leſs ſubject to maladies than the peaſants; but it muſt be remarked, that they have all iſſues in their arms, and many of them are attacked by Hernias, owing, as I imagine, to their immoderate uſe of oil. The lodging of each is a narrow cell, and his whole furniture conſiſts in a mat, a matraſs, and a blanket; but no ſheets, for of theſe they have no need, as they

they ſleep with their cloaths on. Their cloathing is a coarſe cotton ſhirt ſtriped with blue, a pair of drawers, a waiſtcoat, and a ſurplice of coarſe brown cloth, ſo ſtiff and thick, that it will ſtand upright without a fold. Contrary to the cuſtom of the country, they wear their hair eight inches long, and, inſtead of a hood, a cylinder of felt, ten inches high, like thoſe of the Turkiſh cavalry. Every one of them, in ſhort, except the Superior, Purveyor, and Vicar, exerciſes ſome trade, either neceſſary or uſeful to the houſe: one is a weaver, and weaves ſtuffs; another a tailor, and makes cloaths; this is a ſhoemaker, and makes their ſhoes; that a maſon, and ſuperintends their buildings. Two of them have the management of the kitchen, four work at the printing-preſs, four are employed in book-binding, and all aſſiſt at the bake-houſe on the day of making bread. The expence of maintaining forty, or five and forty perſons, of which the convent conſiſts, does not exceed the annual ſum of twelve purſes, or ſix hundred and twenty-five pounds; and from this muſt be deducted the expences of their hoſpitality to all paſſengers, which of itſelf forms a conſiderable

able article. It is true, moſt of theſe paſſengers leave preſents or alms, which make a part of the revenue of the houſe; the other part ariſes from the culture of the lands. They farm a conſiderable extent of ground, for which they pay four hundred piaſtres to two Emirs: theſe lands were cleared out by the firſt Monks themſelves; but at preſent they commit the culture of them to peaſants, who pay them one half of all the produce. This produce conſiſts of white and yellow ſilks, which are ſold at Bairout; ſome corn and wines *(p)*, which, for want of demand, are ſent

*(p)* Theſe wines are of three ſorts, the red, the white, and the yellow. The white, which are the moſt rare, are ſo bitter as to be diſagreeable: the two others, on the contrary, are too ſweet and ſugary. This ariſes from their being boiled, which makes them reſemble the baked wines of Provence. The general cuſtom of the country is, to reduce the muſt to two thirds of its quantity. It is improper for a common drink at meals, becauſe it ferments in the ſtomach. In ſome places, however, they do not boil the red, which then acquires a quality almoſt equal to that of Bordeaux. The yellow wine is much eſteemed among our merchants, under the name of *Golden Wine (Vin d'or)*, which has been given it from its colour. The moſt eſteemed is produced from the hill ſides of the Zouk, or village of Maſbeh near Antoura. It is not neceſſary to heat it, but

ſent as preſents to their benefactors, or conſumed in the houſe. Formerly, the religious abſtained from drinking wine; but, as is cuſtomary in all ſocieties, they have gradually relaxed from their primitive auſterity: they have alſo begun to allow the uſe of tobacco and coffee, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the older Monks, who are ever jealous of too much indulging the habits of youth.

The ſame regulations are obſerved in all the houſes of the order, which, as I have already ſaid, amount to twelve. The whole number of theſe religious is eſtimated at one

but it is too ſugary. Such are the wines of Lebanon, ſo boaſted by the Grecian and Roman epicures. The Europeans may try them, and ſee how far they agree with the ancients in opinion: but they ſhould obſerve, that the paſſage by ſea ferments boiled wines a ſecond time, and burſts the caſks. It is probable, that the inhabitants of Lebanon have made no change in their ancient method of making wines, nor in the culture of their vines. They are diſpoſed on poles of ſix or eight feet high. They are not pruned as in France, which certainly muſt greatly injure both the quantity and quality of the crop. The vintage begins about the end of September. The convent of Mar-hanna makes about one hundred and fifty *Rabia*, or earthen jars, containing about one hundred and ten pints each. The price current in the country, is about ſeven or eight ſols, (four pence) the French pint.

hundred

hundred and fifty; to which muſt be added, five convents of women which depend on them. The firſt ſuperiors who founded them, thought they had performed a good work; but at preſent the order repent it has been done, becauſe nuns in a Turkiſh country are very dangerous, as they are connected with the wealthieſt merchants of Aleppo, Damaſcus, and Cairo, who for a ſtipulated ſum get rid of their daughters by placing them in theſe convents. The merchants likewiſe beſtow on them conſiderable alms. Several of them give an hundred piſtoles yearly, and even as high as one hundred Louis d'or, or three thouſand livres (one hundred and twenty-five pounds), without requiring any other intereſt than their prayers to God, that he would preſerve them from the rapacity of the Pachas. But, as they imprudently attract their notice, by the extreme luxury of their dreſs and furniture, neither their preſents, nor the prayers of the religious, can ſave them from extortion. Not long ſince, one of theſe merchants ventured to build a houſe at Damaſcus, which coſt him upwards of one hundred and twenty thouſand livres, (five thouſand pounds). The Pacha obſerved it, and

and preſently gave the owner to underſtand, he had a curioſity to ſee his new houſe, and would pay him a viſit, and take a diſh of coffee with him. As the Pacha, therefore, might have been ſo delighted with it, as not to have quitted it again, it became neceſſary to avoid his politeneſs, by making him a preſent of thirty thouſand livres, (ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds).

Next to Mar-Hanna, the moſt remarkable convent is that of *Dair Mokalles*, or St. Saviour. It is ſituated three hours journey to the north-eaſt of Saide. The religious had collected there a conſiderable number of printed Arabic books, and manuſcripts: but Djezzar, having carried the war into theſe diſtricts about eight years ago, his ſoldiers pillaged the houſe, and took away all the books.

As we return to the ſea-coſt, we muſt firſt remark Saide, the degenerate offspring of ancient Sidon *(q)*. This town, formerly the reſidence of the Pacha, is, like all the Turkiſh towns, ill built, dirty, and full of modern

(*q*) The name of Sidon ſtill ſubſiſts in a ſmall village half a league from Saide.

ruins,

ruins. Its length along the ſea ſhore is about ſix hundred paces, and its breadth one hundred and fifty. On the ſouth ſide, on a ſmall eminence, is a fort built by Degnizla. From hence we have a view of the ſea, the city, and the country: but a few cannon would eaſily deſtroy this whole work, which is only a large tower of a ſingle ſtory, already half in ruins. At the other extremity of the town, that is, to the north weſt, is the caſtle, which is built in the ſea itſelf, eighty paces from the main land, to which it is joined by arches. To the weſt of this caſtle is a ſhoal fifteen feet high above the ſea, and about two hundred paces long. The ſpace between this ſhoal and the caſtle forms the road, but veſſels are not ſafe there in bad weather. The ſhoal, which extends along the town, has a baſon encloſed by a decayed pier. This was the ancient port; but it is ſo choaked up by ſands, that boats only can enter its mouth, near the caſtle. Fakr-el-din, Emir of the Druzes, deſtroyed all theſe little ports, from Bairout to Acre, by ſinking boats and ſtones to prevent the Turkiſh ſhips from entering them. The baſon of Saide, if it were cleared out, might contain twenty or twenty-five ſmall veſſels.

On the ſide of the ſea, the town is abſolutely without any wall; and that which encloſes it on the land ſide is no better than a priſon wall. The whole artillery does not exceed ſix cannon, and theſe are without carriages or gunners. The garriſon ſcarcely amounts to one hundred men. The water they have comes from the river Aoula, through open canals, from which it is fetched by the women. Theſe canals ſerve alſo to water the orchards of mulberry and lemon trees.

Saide is a conſiderable trading town, and is the chief emporium of Damaſcus, and the interior country. The French, who are the only Europeans to be found there, have a conſul, and five or ſix commercial houſes. Their exports conſiſt in ſilks, and particularly in raw and ſpun cottons. The manufacture of this cotton is the principal art of the inhabitants, the number of whom may be eſtimated at about five thouſand.

Six leagues to the ſouth of Saide, following the coaſt, we arrive by a very level plain at the village of Sour. In this name we, with difficulty, recognize that of *Tyre*, which we receive from the Latins; but if we recollect that the *y* was formerly pronounced *ou*; and

obſerve, that the Latins have ſubſtituted the *t* for the θ of the Greeks, and that the θ had the ſound of the Engliſh *th*, in the word *think*, we ſhall be leſs ſurpriſed at the alteration. This has not happened among the orientals, who have always called this place *Tſour* and *Sour*.

The name of Tyre recalls to the memory of the hiſtorical reader ſo many great events, and ſuggeſts ſo many reflections, that I think I may be allowed to enter with ſome minuteneſs into the deſcription of a place, which was, in ancient times, the theatre of an immenſe commerce and navigation, the nurſe of arts and ſciences, and the city of, perhaps, the moſt induſtrious and active people the world has yet ſeen.

Sour is ſituated on a peninſula, which projects from the ſhore into the ſea, in the form of a mallet with an oval head. This head is a ſolid rock, covered with a brown cultivable earth, which forms a ſmall plain of about eight hundred paces long, by four hundred broad. The iſthmus, which joins this plain to the continent, is of pure ſea ſand. This difference of ſoil renders the ancient inſular ſtate of the plain, before Alexander joined it

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to the ſhore by a mole, very manifeſt, ſince it is plain that the ſea, by covering this mole with ſand, has enlarged it by ſucceſſive accumulations, and formed the preſent iſthmus. The village of Sour is ſituated at the junction of this iſthmus with the ancient iſland, of which it does not cover above one third. The point to the north is occupied by a baſon, which was a port evidently formed by art, but is at preſent ſo choaked up that children paſs it without being wet above the middle. The opening at the point is defended by two towers, oppoſite each other, between which formerly paſſed a chain fifty or ſixty feet long, to ſhut the harbour. From theſe towers began a line of walls, which, after ſurrounding the baſon, encloſed the whole iſland; but at preſent we can only follow their traces by the foundations which run along the ſhore, except in the vicinity of the port, where the Motoualis made ſome repairs twenty years ago, but theſe are again fallen to decay.

Further on in the ſea, to the north-weſt of the point, at the diſtance of about three hundred paces, is a ridge of rocks which riſe to the ſurface of the water. The ſpace which ſeparates them from the main land in front,

forms a ſort of road, where veſſels may anchor with more ſafety than at Saide; they are not, however, free from danger, for they are expoſed to the north-weſt winds, and the bottom injures the cables. That part of the iſland which lies between the village and the ſea, that is the weſtern ſide, is open: and this ground the inhabitants have laid out in gardens; but ſuch is their ſloth, that they contain far more weeds than uſeful plants. The ſouth ſide is ſandy, and more covered with rubbiſh. The whole village contains only fifty or ſixty poor families, which live but indifferently on the produce of their little grounds, and a trifling fiſhery. The houſes they occupy are no longer, as in the time of Strabo, edifices of three or four ſtories high, but wretched huts, ready to crumble to pieces. Formerly they were defenceleſs towards the land, but the Motoualis, who poſſeſſed themſelves of this place in 1766, encloſed it with a wall of twenty feet high, which ſtill ſubſiſts. The moſt remarkable building is a ruin at the ſouth-eaſt corner. This was a Chriſtian church, built, probably, by the Cruſaders; a part of the choir only is remaining: cloſe to which, amid heaps of ſtones, lie two beautiful columns, with

with ſhafts of red granite, of a kind unknown in Syria. Djezzar, who has ſtripped all this country to ornament his moſque at Acre, wiſhed to carry them away, but his engineers were not able even to move them.

Leaving the village, on the ſide of the iſthmus, at a hundred paces from the gate, we come to a ruined tower, in which is a well, where the women go to fetch water. This well is fifteen or ſixteen feet deep; but the depth of the water is not more than two or three feet. Better water is not to be found upon the coaſt. From ſome unknown cauſe, it becomes troubled in September, and continues ſome days full of a reddiſh clay. This ſeaſon is obſerved as a kind of feſtival by the inhabitants, who then come in crowds to the well, and pour into it a bucket of ſea water, which, according to them, has the virtue of reſtoring the clearneſs of the ſpring. As we proceed along the iſthmus, towards the continent, we perceive, at equal diſtances, the ruins of arcades, which lead in a right line to an eminence, the only one in the plain. This hill is not factitious, like thoſe of the deſert; but a natural rock of about one hundred and fifty feet in circumference, by forty or fifty

high: nothing is to be diſcovered there but a houſe in ruins, and the tomb of a Shaik or Santon *(r)*, remarkable for the white dome at the top. The diſtance of this rock from Sour is about a quarter of an hour's walk. As we approach it, the arcades I have mentioned become more numerous, and are not ſo high; they terminate by a continued line, and, at the foot of the rock, form ſuddenly a right angle to the ſouth, and proceed obliquely toward the ſea: we may follow their direction for above an hour's walk at a horſe's pace, till, at length, we diſtinctly perceive, by the channel on the arches, that this is no other than an aqueduct. This channel is three feet wide, by two and a half deep; and is formed of a cement harder than the ſtones themſelves. At laſt we arrive at the well where it terminates, or rather from which it begins. This is what ſome travellers have called the well of Solomon, but, among the inhabitants of the country, it is known only by the name of *Ras-el-aen*, or, Head of

*(r)* Among the Mahometans, the word *Shaik* bears the various ſignifications of *ſanton*, *hermit*, *ideot* and *madman*. They have the ſame religious reſpect for perſons diſordered in their intellects which we find to have prevailed in the time of David.

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the Spring. They reckon one principal, two leſſer, and ſeveral ſmall ones; the whole forming a piece of maſonary which is neither of hewn or rough ſtone, but of cement mixed with ſea pebbles. To the ſouth, this ſtone-work riſes about eighteen feet from the ground, and fifteen to the northward. On this ſide is a ſlope, wide and gradual enough to permit carts to aſcend to the top, at which when we arrive we diſcover what is very ſurpriſing; for, inſtead of finding the water low, or no higher than the ground level, it reaches to the top, that is the column which fills the well, is fifteen feet higher than the ground. Beſides this, the water is not calm, but bubbles up with violence, and ruſhes through channels contrived at the ſurface of the well. It is ſo abundant as to drive three mills which are near it, and form a little rivulet before it reaches the ſea, which is only four hundred paces diſtant. The mouth of the principal well is an octagon, each ſide of which is twenty-three feet three inches, the diameter, therefore, muſt be ſixty-one feet. It has been ſaid that this well has no bottom; but La Roque aſſerts, that he found it at ſix and thirty fa-

thom. It is remarkable, that the motion of the water at the ſurface, has corroded the interior lining of the well, ſo that its edge reſts almoſt upon nothing, and forms a half arch ſuſpended over the water; among the channels which branch out from it, is a principal one which joins that of the arches I have mentioned: by means of theſe arches, the water was formerly conveyed to the rock, and from the rock, by the iſthmus, to the tower, whence the water was drawn. The circumjacent country is a plain of about two leagues wide, ſurrounded by a chain of conſiderably high mountains, which ſtretch from Kaſimia to Cape Blanco. The ſoil is a black fat earth, on which a ſmall quantity of corn and cotton are ſucceſsfully cultivated.

Such is the preſent ſtate of Tyre, which may ſuggeſt ſeveral obſervations relative to the ſituation of that ancient city. We know, that at the time when Nabuchodonoſor laid ſiege to it, Tyre was on the continent; and appears to have ſtood near *Palæ-Tyrus*, that is, near the well; but, in that caſe, why was this aqueduct conſtructed at ſo much expence (*s*) from the well to the rock? Will it be alledged it was built after

(*s*) The piles of the arches are nine feet wide.

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the Tyrians had removed into the iſland? But prior to the time of Salmanaſar, that is, one hundred and thirty-ſix years before Nabuchodonoſor, their annals mention it as already exiſting. "In the time of Eululæus, "king of Tyre," ſays the hiſtorian Menander, as cited by Joſephus *(t)*, "Salmanaſar, king "of Aſſyria, having carried the war into Phœ-"nicia, ſeveral towns ſubmitted to his arms: "the Tyrians reſiſted him; but being ſoon "abandoned by Sidon, Acre, and Palæ-"Tyrus, which depended on them, they "were reduced to their own forces. How-"ever, they continued to defend themſelves, "and Salmanaſar, returning to Nineveh, left a "part of his army near the rivulets and the "aqueduct, to cut off their ſupply of water. "Theſe remained there five years, during which "time the Tyrians had no water but what "they procured from wells which they dug."

If Palæ-Tyrus was dependant on Tyre, Tyre muſt have been ſituated at ſome diſtance from it. It was not in the iſland, ſince the inhabitants did not remove thither until after Nabuchodonoſor. Its original ſituation muſt, therefore, have been on the rock. The name of

(*t*) *Antiq. Judaic.* lib. 9. c. 14.

this

this city is a proof of it: for *Tſour*, in Phœnician, ſignifies rock, and ſtrong hold. On this rock the colony of Sidonians eſtabliſhed themſelves, when driven from their country, two hundred and forty years before the building of Solomon's Temple. They made choice of this ſituation, from the double advantage of a place which might be eaſily defended, and the convenience of the adjacent road, which would contain and cover a great number of veſſels. The population of this colony augmenting, in time, and by the advantages of commerce, the Tyrians were in want of more water, and conſtructed the aqueduct. The induſtry we find them remarkable for in the days of Solomon, may perhaps induce us to attribute this work to that age. It muſt, however, be very ancient, ſince the water of the aqueduct has had time to form, by filtration, a conſiderable incruſtation, which, falling from the ſides of the channel, or the inſide of the vaults, has obſtructed whole arches. In order to ſecure the aqueduct, it was neceſſary that a number of inhabitants ſhould ſettle there, and hence the origin of Palæ-Tyrus. It may be alleged, this is a factitious ſpring, formed by a ſubterraneous

canal from the mountains; but if ſo, why was it not conducted directly to the rock? It ſeems much more probable it is natural; and that they availed themſelves of one of thoſe ſubterranean rivers of which we find many in Syria. The idea of confining this water to force it to riſe is worthy of the Phœnicians.

Things were thus ſituated, when the king of Babylon, conqueror of Jeruſalem, determined to deſtroy the only city which continued to brave his power. The Tyrians reſiſted him for thirteen years, at the end of which, wearied with endleſs efforts, they reſolved to place the ſea between them and their enemy, and paſſed accordingly into the oppoſite iſland, at a quarter of a league's diſtance. Till this period the iſland muſt have contained few inhabitants, on account of the want of water *(u)*. Neceſſity taught them to remedy this inconvenience by ciſterns, the remains of which are ſtill to be found in the form of vaulted caves, paved and walled with

(*u*) Joſephus is miſtaken, when he ſpeaks of Tyre as built in an iſland in the time of Hiram. In his uſual manner he confounds its ancient with its poſterior ſtate. See *Antiq. Judaic.* lib. 8. c. 5.

the

the utmoſt care *(x)*. Alexander invaded the eaſt, and, to gratify his barbarous pride, Tyre was deſtroyed, but ſoon rebuilt; her new inhabitants profited by the mole, by which the Macedonians had made themſelves a paſſage to the iſland, and continued the aqueduct to the tower, where the water is drawn at this day. But the arches being in many places deſtroyed, and ſerviceable in none, how is it that the water is conveyed thither? This muſt be done by ſecret conduits contrived in the foundations, and which ſtill continue to bring it from the well. A proof that the water of the tower comes from Ras-el-aen is, that it is troubled in September as at the tower, at which time it is of the ſame colour, and it has at all times the ſame taſte. Theſe conduits muſt be very numerous; for though there are ſeveral lakes near the tower, yet the well does not ceaſe to ſupply a conſiderable quantity of water.

The power of the city of Tyre on the Mediterranean, and in the weſt, is well known; of this Carthage, Utica, and Cadiz are cele-

*(z)* A conſiderable one has been lately diſcovered without the walls, but nothing was found in it, and the *Motſallam* ordered it to be ſhut up.

brated

brated monuments. We know that ſhe extended her navigation even into the ocean, and carried her commerce beyond England to the north, and the Canaries to the ſouth. Her connections with the eaſt, though leſs known, were not leſs conſiderable; the iſlands of Tyrus, and Aradus, (the modern Bairhain) in the Perſian Gulph; the cities of Faran and *Phœnicum Oppidum*, on the Red Sea, in ruins even in the time of the Greeks, prove that the Tyrians had long frequented the coaſts of Arabia and the Indian ſea; but there exiſts an hiſtorical fragment, which contains deſcriptions the more valuable, as they preſent a picture of diſtant ages, perfectly ſimilar to that of modern times. I ſhall cite the words of the writer in all their prophetic enthuſiaſm, only correcting thoſe expreſſions which have hitherto been miſunderſtood.

" Proud city, that art ſituate at the en-
" try of the ſea! Tyre, who haſt ſaid, My
" borders are in the midſt of the ſeas; hearken
" to the judgments pronounced againſt thee!
" Thou haſt extended thy commerce to (diſ-
" tant) iſlands, among the inhabitants of (un-
" known) coaſts. Thou makeſt the fir trees
" of Sanir *(y)* into ſhips; the cedars of Le-

(y) Poſſibly Mount Sannin.

" banon

" banon are thy maſts; the poplars of Biſan
" thy oars. Thy ſailors are ſeated upon the
" box-wood of Cyprus (*z*), inlaid with ivory.
" Thy ſails and ſtreamers are woven with
" fine flax from Egypt; thy garments are
" dyed with the blue and purple of Hel-
" las *(a)* (the Archipelago). Sidon and
" Arvad ſend thee their rowers; Djabal
" (Djebila) her ſkilful ſhip-builders; thy
" mathematicians and thy ſages guide thy
" barks; all the ſhips of the ſea are employed
" in thy commerce. The Perſian, the Ly-
" dian, and the Egyptian, receive thy wages:
" thy walls are hung round with their buck-
" lers, and their cuiraſſes. The ſons of Ar-
" vad line thy parapets; and thy towers,
" guarded by the Djimedeans (a Phœnician
" people), glitter with their brilliant qui-

(*z*) Box of *Katim*. By comparing different paſſages, we ſhall be convinced this word does not mean *Greece*, but the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and perhaps the coaſt of *Cilicia*, where the box abounds. It agrees particularly with Cyprus, from its analogy with the town of *Kitium*, and the people of the *Kitians*, on whom Eululeus made war in the time of Salmanaſar.

*(a)* In the *Hebrew* אלישה *Eliſha*, which does not differ from *Helles*, the ancient name of the Archipelago, preſerved in *Helles-pont*.

" vers.

" vers. Every country is desirous of trading " with thee. Tarsus sends to thy markets " iron, tin, and lead. Yonia *(b)*, the country " of the Mosques, and Teblis *(c)*, supply " thee with slaves, and brasen vessels. Ar- " menia sends thee mules, horses, and horse- " men. The Arab of Dedan (between Alep- " po and Damascus), conveys thy merchan- " dize. Numerous isles exchange with thee " ivory and ebony. The Aramean (the Sy- " rian) *(d)* brings thee rubies, purple, em- " broidered work, fine linen, coral, and agate. " The children of Israel and Judah sell thee " cheese, balm, myrrh, raisins, and oil, and Da- " mascus supplies the wine of Halboûn, (per- " haps Halab, where there are still vines), and " fine wool. The Arabs of Oman offer to thy " merchants polished iron, cinnamon, and " the aromatic reed; and the Arabians of

(*b*) *Youn*, pleasantly travestied into *javan*, though the ancients never knew our *j*.

(*c*) *Tobel*, or *Teblis*, is also written *Teflis*, and lies to the north of Armenia, on the frontiers of Georgia. These countries are celebrated among the Grecks for slaves, and for the iron of the *Chalybes*.

(*d*) This name extended to the Cappadocians, and the inhabitants of the Upper Mesopotamia.

" Dedan

" Dedan bring thee rich carpets. The in-
" habitants of the Deſert, and the Shaiks of
" Kedar, exchange their lambs and their
" goats for thy valuable merchandize. The
" Arabs of Saba and Rama (in the Yemen)
" enrich thee with aromatics, precious ſtones,
" and gold (*e*). The inhabitants of Haran,
" of Kalana, (in Meſopotamia), and of Ada-
" na (near to Tarſus), the factors of the
" Arabs of Sheba (near the Dedan), the Aſ-
" ſyrians, and the Chaldeans, trade alſo
" with thee, and ſell thee ſhawls, garments
" artfully embroidered, ſilver, maſts, cor-
" dage, and cedars; yea, the (boaſted) veſ-
" ſels of Tarſus, are in thy pay. O Tyre!
" elate with the greatneſs of thy glory, and
" the immenſity of thy riches; the waves of
" the ſea ſhall riſe up againſt thee; and the
" tempeſt plunge thee to the bottom of the
" waters. Then ſhall thy wealth be ſwallow-
" ed up with thee; and with thee in one day
" ſhall periſh thy commerce, thy merchants
" and correſpondents, thy ſailors, pilots, ar-

(*e*) Thus alſo, Strabo, *lib.* 16. ſays that the Sabeans furniſhed Syria with all the gold that country received, before they were ſupplanted by the inhabitants of Gerrha, near the mouth of the Euphrates.

" tiſts,

" tiſts, and ſoldiers, and the numberleſs peo-
" ple who dwell within thy walls. Thy
" rowers ſhall deſert thy veſſels. Thy pilots
" ſhall ſit upon the ſhore, looking ſorrow-
" fully toward the land. The nations whom
" thou enrichedſt, the kings whom thou
" didſt gratify with the multitude of thy
" merchandize, ſore afraid at thy ruin, ſhall
" cry bitterly in deſpair; they ſhall cut off
" their hair; they ſhall caſt aſhes on their
" heads; they ſhall roll in the duſt, and la-
" ment over thee, ſaying, What city ſhall
" equal Tyre, that queen of the ſea?" *(f)*.

The viciſſitudes of time, or rather the barbariſm of the Greeks of the Lower Empire, and the Mahometans, have accompliſhed this prediction. Inſtead of that ancient commerce ſo active and ſo extenſive, Sour, reduced to a miſerable village, has no other trade than the exportation of a few ſacks of corn, and raw cotton, nor any merchant but a ſingle Greek factor in the ſervice of the French of Saide, who ſcarcely makes ſufficient profit to maintain his family.

Nine leagues to the ſouth of Sour, is the city of Acre, in Arabic called Akka, known

(*f*) See Ezekiel, chap. xxvii.

in times of remote antiquity under the name of Aco, and afterwards by that of Ptolemaïs. It is ſituated at the northern cape of a bay, which extends in a ſemi-circle of three leagues, as far as the point of Carmel. After the expulſion of the Cruſaders, it remained almoſt deſerted; but in our time has again revived by the induſtry of Daher; and the works erected by Djezzar, within the laſt ten years, have rendered it one of the moſt conſiderable towns upon the coaſt.

The moſque of this Pacha is boaſted as a maſter-piece of eaſtern taſte. The bazar, or covered market, is not inferior even to thoſe of Aleppo, and its public fountain ſurpaſſes in elegance thoſe of Damaſcus. This laſt is alſo the moſt uſeful work; for, till then, Acre was only ſupplied by a ruinous well; the water, however, is ſtill, as formerly, of a very indifferent quality. The Pacha has derived the more honour from theſe works, as he was himſelf both the engineer and architect: he formed the plans, drew the deſigns, and ſuperintended the execution. The port of Acre is one of the beſt ſituated on the coaſt, as it is ſheltered from the north and north-weſt winds by the town itſelf; but it is greatly choaked

choaked up ſince the time of Fakr-el-din. Djezzar has contented himſelf with making a landing-place for boats. The fortifications, though more frequently repaired than any other in all Syria, are of no importance; there are only a few wretched low towers, near the port, on which cannon are mounted, but theſe ruſty iron pieces are ſo bad, that ſome of them burſt every time they are fired. Its defence on the land ſide, is only a mere garden wall without any ditch.

The country round it is a naked plain, longer than that of Sour, but not no ſo wide; it is ſurrounded by a chain of hills, which make an angle at Cape Blanco, and extend as far as Carmel. The unevenneſs of the country cauſes the winter rains to ſettle in the low grounds, and form lakes which are unwholeſome in ſummer from their infectious vapours. In other reſpects, the ſoil is fertile, and both corn and cotton are cultivated with the greateſt ſucceſs. Theſe articles form the baſis of the commerce of Acre, which is becoming more flouriſhing every day. Of late, the Pacha, by an abuſe common throughout all the Turkiſh empire, has monopolized all the trade; no cotton can be

ſold but to him, and from him every purchaſe muſt be made; in vain have the European merchants claimed the privileges granted them by the Sultan; Djezzar replied, that he was the Sultan in his country, and continued his monopoly. Theſe merchants in general are French, and have fix houſes at Acre, with a conſul; an Imperial agent too is lately ſettled there, and about a year ago, a reſident for Ruſſia.

That part of the bay of Acre in which ſhips anchor with the greateſt ſecurity lies to the north of Mount Carmel, below the village of Haifa, (commonly called Caiffa). The bottom is good holding ground and does not chafe the cables; but this harbour is open to the north-weſt wind, which blows violently along all this coaſt. Mount Carmel, which commands it to the ſouth, is a flattened cone, and very rocky; it is about two thouſand feet high. We ſtill find among the brambles, wild vines and olive trees, which prove that induſtry has formerly been employed even on this ungrateful ſoil: on the ſummit is a chapel dedicated to the prophet Elias, which affords an extenſive proſpect over the ſea and land. To the

ſouth,

ſouth, the country preſents a chain of rugged hills, on the tops of which are a great number of oak and fir-trees, the retreat of wild boars and lynxes. As we turn towards the eaſt, at ſix leagues diſtance, we perceive *Naſra* or Nazareth, ſo celebrated in the hiſtory of Chriſtianity; it is an inconſiderable village, one third of whoſe inhabitants are Mahometans, and the remaining two thirds Greek Catholics. The fathers of the holy land, who are dependant on the Great Convent of Jeruſalem, have an Hoſpitium and a church here. They are uſually the farmers of the country. In the time of Daher, they were obliged to make a preſent to every wife he married, and he took great care to marry almoſt every week.

About two leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of Naſra is Mount Tabor, from which we have one of the fineſt views in Syria. This mountain is of the figure of a broken cone, eight hundred, or a thouſand yards in height. The ſummit is two thirds of a league in circumference. Formerly it had a citadel, of which now only a few ſtones remain. From hence we diſcover, to the ſouth, a ſeries of vallies and mountains, which extend as far

as Jerulalem, while, to the eaſt, the valley of Jordan, and Lake Tabaria, appear as if under our feet, and the lake ſeems as if encloſed in the crater of a volcano; beyond this, the eye loſes itſelf, towards the plains of the Hauran; and then turning to the north, returns by the mountains of Haſbeya, and the Kaſmia, to repoſe on the fertile plains of Galilee, without being able to reach the ſea.

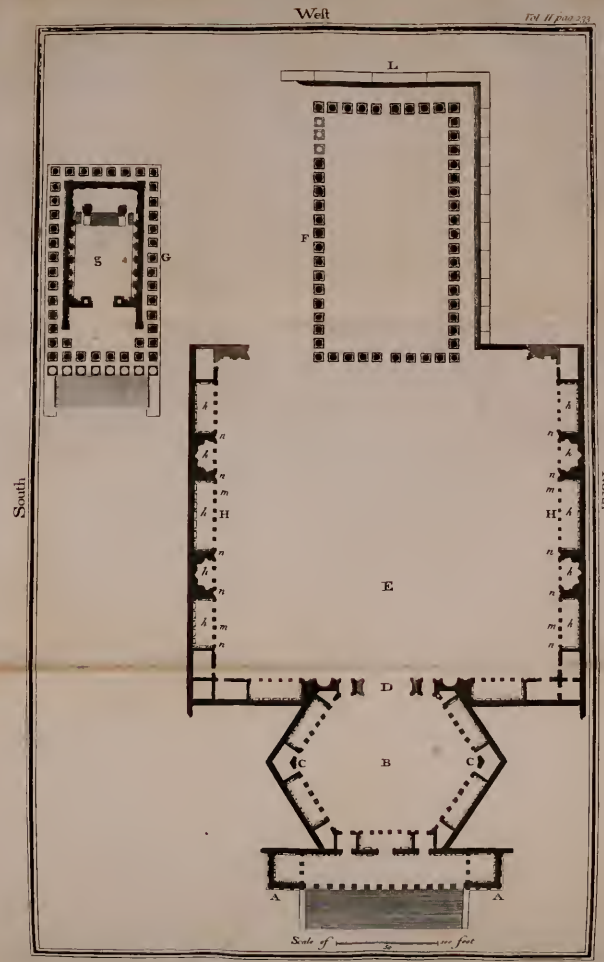
The eaſtern bank of Lake Tabaria offers nothing remarkable but the town the name of which it bears, and the fountain of warm mineral waters in the neighbourhood. This fountain is ſituated in the open country, at the diſtance of a quarter of a league from Tabaria. For want of cleaning it is filled with a black mud, which is a genuine Ethiops Martial. Perſons attacked by rheumatic complaints find great relief, and are frequently cured by baths of this mud. The town is little elſe than a heap of ruins, and not inhabited at moſt by more than one hundred families. Seven leagues to the north of Tabarai, on the brow of a hill, ſtands the town or village of Safad, the ſeat of Daher's power. Under the government of this Shaik

an

an Arabian college flouriſhed there, in which the Motoualis doctors inſtructed youth in the ſcience of grammar, and the allegorical interpretation of the Koran. The Jews, who believe the Meſſiah will eſtabliſh the ſeat of his empire at Safad, had alſo taken an affection to this place, and collected there to the number of fifty or ſixty families; but the earthquake of 1759, deſtroyed every thing, and Safad, regarded by the Turks with an unfavourable eye, is now only a village almoſt deſerted. As we aſcend from Safad to the north, we follow a chain of lofty mountains, named Djebal-el-Shaik, among which are the ſources of the Jordan, and likewiſe thoſe of a number of rivulets which water the plain of Damaſcus. The high grounds from whence theſe rivulets flow, form a ſmall diſtrict called Haſbeya, which is at preſent governed by an Emir, a relation and rival of the Emir Youſef, who farms it of Djezzar for ſixty purſes. The country is mountainous, and greatly reſembles the Lower Lebanon. The chain of mountains which ſtretch along the vale of Bekaa, was called by the ancients Anti-Lebanon, from their being parallel to the Lebanon of the Druzes and Maronites;

and the vale of Bekaa, which ſeparates them, is properly the ancient Cœle Syria, or *hollow Syria*. This valley, by collecting the water of the mountains, has rendered it conſtantly one of the moſt fertile diſtricts of all Syria, but the mountains concentrating the rays of the ſun, produce likewiſe a heat in ſummer not inferior to that of Egypt. The air nevertheleſs is not unhealthy, no doubt becauſe perpetually renewed by the north-wind, and becauſe the waters never ſtagnate. The inhabitants ſleep without injury upon their terraces. Before the earthquake of 1759, this whole country was covered with villages and plantations of the Motoualis; but the deſtruction occaſioned by this terrible calamity, and the ſubſequent wars with the Turks, have almoſt deſtroyed every thing. The only place which merits attention is the city of Balbec.

Balbec, celebrated by the Greeks and Latins, under the name of *Heliopolis*, or the City of the Sun, is ſituated at the foot of Anti-Lebanon, preciſely on the laſt riſing ground where the mountain terminates in the plain. As we arrive from the ſouth we diſcover the city at the diſtance of only a league and




PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN AT BALBEC

and a half, behind a hedge of trees, over the verdant tops of which appears a white edging of domes and Minarets. After an hour's journey we reach theſe trees, which are very fine walnuts; and ſoon after, croſſing ſome ill cultivated gardens, by winding paths, arrive at the entrance of the city. We there perceive a ruined wall, flanked with ſquare towers, which aſcends the declivity to the right, and traces the precincts of the ancient city. This wall, which is only ten or twelve feet high, permits us to have a view of thoſe void ſpaces, and heaps of ruins which are the invariable appendage of every Turkiſh city; but what principally attracts our attention, is a large edifice on the left, which, by its lofty walls, and rich columns, manifeſtly appears to be one of thoſe temples which antiquity has left for our admiration. Theſe ruins, which are ſome of the moſt beautiful and beſt preſerved of any in Aſia, merit a particular deſcription.

To give a juſt idea of them, we muſt ſuppoſe ourſelves deſcending from the interior of the town. After having croſſed the rubbiſh and huts with which it is filled, we arrive at a vacant place which appears to have been a ſquare;

ſquare *(g)*; there, in front, towards the weſt, we perceive a grand ruin (AA), which conſiſts of two pavillions ornamented with pilaſtres, joined at their bottom angle by a wall one hundred and ſixty feet in length. This front commands the open country from a ſort of terrace, on the edge of which we diſtinguiſh, with difficulty, the baſes of twelve columns, which formerly extended from one pavillion to the other, and formed a portico. The principal gate is obſtructed by heaps of ſtones; but that obſtacle ſurmounted, we enter an empty ſpace, which is an hexagonal court (B) of one hundred and eighty feet diameter. This court is ſtrewed with broken columns, mutilated capitals, and the remains of pilaſters, entablatures, and cornices; around it is a row of ruined edifices (CC), which diſplay all the ornaments of the richeſt architecture. At the end of this court, oppoſite the weſt, is an outlet (D), which formerly was a gate, through which we perceive a ſtill more extenſive range of ruins, whoſe magnificence ſtrongly excites curioſity. To have a full proſpect of theſe, we muſt

(*g*) See the plates.

aſcend a ſlope, up which were the ſteps to this gate, and we then arrive at the entrance of a ſquare court (E), much more ſpacious than the former *(b)*, from which point of view the drawing of the annexed engraving was taken. The eye is firſt attracted by the end of this court, where ſix enormous and majeſtic columns render the ſcene aſtoniſhingly grand and pictureſque. Another object not leſs intereſting, is a ſecond range of columns to the left, which appear to have been part of the periſtyle of a temple (G); but before we paſs thither, we cannot refuſe particular attention to the edifices (H), which encloſe this court on each ſide. They form a ſort of gallery which contains various chambers *(bbbb)*, ſeven of which may be reckoned in each of the principal wings: viz. two in a ſemicircle, and five in an oblong ſquare. The bottom of theſe apartments ſtill retains pediments of niches *(i)* and tabernacles *(l)*, the ſupporters of which are deſtroyed. On the ſide of the court they are open, and preſent only four and ſix columns *(m)*, totally

(*b*) It is three hundred and fifty feet wide, and three hundred and thirty-ſix in length.

deſtroyed.

deſtroyed. It is not eaſy to conceive the uſe of theſe apartments; but this does not diminiſh our admiration at the beauty of their pilaſters (*n*), and the richneſs of the frize of the entablature (*o*). Neither is it poſſible to avoid remarking the ſingular effect which reſults from the mixture of the garlands, the large foliage of the capitals, and the ſculpture of wild plants with which they are every where ornamented. In traverſing the length of the court, we find in the middle a little ſquare eſplanade (I), where was a pavillion, of which nothing remains but the foundation. At length we arrive at the foot of the ſix columns (F); and then firſt conceive all the boldneſs of their elevation, and the richneſs of their workmanſhip. Their ſhafts are twenty-one feet eight inches in circumference, and fifty-eight high; ſo that the total height, including the entablature (*o*), is from ſeventy-one to ſeventy-two feet. The ſight of this ſuperb ruin thus ſolitary and unaccompanied, at firſt ſtrikes us with aſtoniſhment; but, on a more attentive examination, we diſcover a ſeries of foundations, which mark an oblong ſquare (F F) of two hundred and ſixty-eight feet in length, and one hundred and forty-

I. Niche
I. Tabernacles
Y. Mt Lebanon

VIEW OF THE SQUARE COURT OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN AT BALBEC.

forty-ſix wide; and which, it ſeems probable, was the periſtyle of a grand temple, the primary purpoſe of this whole ſtructure. It preſented to the great court, that is to the eaſt, a front of ten columns, with nineteen on each ſide, which, with the other ſix, make in all fifty-four. The ground on which it ſtood was an oblong ſquare, on a level with this court, but narrower than it, ſo that there was only a terrace of twenty-ſeven feet wide round the colonnade. The eſplanade this produces, fronts the open country, toward the weſt, by a ſloping wall (L) of about thirty feet. This deſcent, as you approach the city, becomes leſs ſteep, ſo that the foundation of the pavillion is on a level with the termination of the hill, whence it is evident that the whole ground of the courts has been artificially raiſed. Such was the former ſtate of this edifice; but the ſouthern ſide of the grand temple was afterwards blocked up to build a ſmaller one, the periſtyle and walls of which are ſtill remaining. This temple (G), ſituated ſome feet lower than the other, preſents a ſide of thirteen columns, by eight in front, (in all thirty-four), which are likewiſe of the Corinthian order; their ſhafts are

fifteen feet eight inches in circumference, and forty-four in height. The building they ſurround is an oblong ſquare, the front of which, facing the eaſt, is out of the line of the left wing of the great court. To reach it you muſt croſs trunks of columns, heaps of ſtone, and a ruinous wall by which it is now hid. After ſurmounting theſe obſtacles, you arrive at the gate, where you may ſurvey the encloſure (*g*) which was once the habitation of a god; but inſtead of the awful ſcene of a proſtrate people, and ſacrifices offering by a multitude of prieſts, the ſky, which is open from the falling in of the roof, only lets in light to ſhew a chaos of ruins, covered with duſt and weeds. The walls, formerly enriched with all the ornaments of the Corinthian order, now preſent nothing but pediments of niches, and tabernacles of which almoſt all the ſupporters are fallen to the ground. Between theſe niches is a range of fluted pilaſters, whoſe capitals ſupport a broken entablature; but what remains of it, diſplays a rich frize of foliage reſting on the heads of ſatyrs, horſes, balls, &c. Over this entablature was the ancient roof, which was fifty-ſeven feet wide,

wide, and one hundred and ten in length. The walls which ſupported it are thirty-one feet high, and without a window. It is impoſſible to form any idea of the ornaments of this roof, except from the fragments lying on the ground; but it could not have been richer than the gallery of the periſtyle: the principal remaining parts contain tablets in the form of lozenges, on which are repreſented Jupiter ſeated on his eagle; Leda careſſed by the ſwan; Diana with her bow and creſcent, and ſeveral buſts which ſeem to be figures of emperors and empreſſes. It would lead me too far, to enter more minutely into the deſcription of this aſtoniſhing edifice. The lovers of the arts will find it deſcribed with the greateſt truth and accuracy in a work publiſhed at London in 1757, under the title of *Ruins of Balbec*. This work, compiled by Mr. Robert Wood, the world owes to the attention and liberality of Mr. Dawkins, who, in 1751, viſited Balbec and Palmyra. It is impoſſible to add any thing to the fidelity of their deſcription.

Several changes however have taken place ſince their journey: for example, they found nine large columns ſtanding, and, in 1784, I found

found but ſix (F). They reckoned nine and twenty at the leſſer temple, but there now remain but twenty; the others have been overthrown by the earthquake of 1759. It has likewiſe ſo ſhaken the walls of the leſſer temple, that the ſtone of the ſoffit (*i*) of the gate has ſlid between the two adjoining ones, and deſcended eight inches; by which means the body of the bird ſculptured on that ſtone, is ſuſpended, detached from its wings, and the two garlands, which hung from its beak and terminated in two Genii. Nature alone has not effected this devaſtation; the Turks have had their ſhare in the deſtruction of the columns. Their motive is to procure the iron cramps, which ſerve to join the ſeveral blocks of which each column is compoſed. Theſe cramps anſwer ſo well the end intended, that ſeveral of the columns are not even disjointed by their fall; one, among others, as Mr. Wood obſerves, has penetrated a ſtone of the temple wall without giving way. Nothing can ſurpaſs the workmanſhip of theſe columns; they are joined without any cement, yet there is not room for the blade of

(*i*) The *Soffit* is the croſs ſtone at the top of a gate.

a knife

a knife between their interſtices. After ſo many ages, they in general ſtill retain their original whiteneſs. But, what is ſtill more aſtoniſhing is, the enormous ſtones which compoſe the ſloping wall. To the weſt (L) the ſecond layer is formed of ſtones which are from twenty-eight to thirty-five feet long, by about nine in height. Over this layer, at the north-weſt angle (M), there are three ſtones, which alone occupy a ſpace of one hundred and ſeventy-five feet and one half; viz. the firſt, fifty-eight feet ſeven inches; the ſecond, fifty-eight feet eleven; and the third, exactly fifty-eight feet; and each of theſe are twelve feet thick. Theſe ſtones are of a white granite, with large ſhining flakes, like Gypſe; there is a quarry of this kind of ſtone under the whole city, and in the adjacent mountain, which is open in ſeveral places, and, among others, on the right, as we approach the city. There is ſtill lying there a ſtone, hewn on three ſides, which is ſixty-nine feet two inches long, twelve feet ten inches broad, and thirteen feet three in thickneſs. By what means could the ancients move theſe enormous maſſes? This is doubt-

leſs a problem in mechanics curious to reſolve. The inhabitants of Balbec have a very commodious manner of explaining it, by ſuppoſing theſe edifices to have been conſtructed by *Djenoun*, or Genii, who obeyed the orders of king Solomon; adding, that the motive of ſuch immenſe works was to conceal, in ſubterraneous caverns, vaſt treaſures, which ſtill remain there. To diſcover theſe, many have deſcended into the vaults which range under the whole edifice; but the inutility of their reſearches, added to the oppreſſions and extortions of the governors, who have made their ſuppoſed diſcoveries a pretext, have at length diſheartened them; but they imagine the Europeans will be more ſucceſsful; nor would it be poſſible to perſuade them, but what we are poſſeſſed of the magic art of deſtroying Taliſmans. It is in vain to oppoſe reaſon to ignorance and prejudice: and it would be no leſs ridiculous to attempt to prove to them that Solomon never was acquainted with the Corinthian order, which was only in uſe under the Roman emperors. But their traditions concerning this prince may ſuggeſt three important obſervations.

Firſt,

Firſt, that all tradition relative to high antiquity, is as falſe among the orientals as the Europeans; with them, as with us, facts which happened a hundred years before, when not preſerved in writing, are altered, mutilated, or forgotten. To expect information from them with reſpect to events in the time of David or Alexander, would be as abſurd as to make enquiries of the Flemiſh peaſants concerning Clovis or Charlemagne.

Secondly, that throughout Syria, the Mahometans, as well as the Jews and Chriſtians, attribute every great work to Solomon: not that the memory of him ſtill remains by tradition in thoſe countries, but from certain paſſages in the Old Teſtament; which, with the goſpel, is the ſource of almoſt all their tradition, as theſe are the only hiſtorical books read or known; but as their expounders are very ignorant, their applications of what they are told, are generally very remote from truth: by an error of this kind, they pretend Balbec is *the houſe of the foreſt of Lebanon*, built by Solomon; nor do they approach nearer pro-

bability, when they attribute to that king the well of Tyre, and the buildings of Palmyra.

A third remark is, that the belief in hidden treaſures has been confirmed by diſcoveries which have been really made from time to time. It is not ten years ſince a ſmall coffer was found at *Hebron*, full of gold and ſilver medals, with an ancient Arabic book on medicine. In the country of the Druzes, an individual diſcovered, likewiſe, ſome time ſince, a jar with gold coin in the form of a creſcent; but as the chiefs and governors claim a right to theſe diſcoveries, and ruin thoſe who have made them, under pretext of obliging them to make reſtoration, thoſe who find any thing endeavour carefully to conceal it; they ſecretly melt the antique coins, nay, frequently bury them again in the ſame place where they found them, from the ſame fears which cauſed their firſt concealment, and which prove the ſame tyranny formerly exiſted in theſe countries.

When we conſider the extraordinary magnificence of the temple of Balbec, we cannot but

but be aſtoniſhed at the ſilence of the Greek and Roman authors. Mr. Wood, who has carefully examined all the ancient writers, has found no mention of it, except in a fragment of John of Antioch, who attributes the building of this edifice to Antoninus Pius. The inſcriptions which remain corroborate this opinion, which perfectly accounts for the conſtant uſe of the Corinthian order, ſince that order was not in general uſe before the third age of Rome; but we ought by no means to allege as an additional proof, the bird ſculptured over the gate; for if his crooked beak, large claws, and the caduceus he bears, give him the appearance of an eagle, the tuft of feathers on his head, like that of certain pigeons, proves that he is not the Roman eagle: beſides that the ſame bird is found in the temple of Palmyra, and is therefore evidently an oriental eagle, conſecrated to the ſun, who was the divinity adored in both theſe temples. His worſhip exiſted at Balbec, in the moſt remote antiquity. His ſtatue, which reſembled that of Oſiris, had been brought thither from the Heliopolis of Egypt, and the ceremo-

nies with which he was worſhipped there have been deſcribed by Macrobius, in his curious work entitled Saturnalia *(k)*. Mr. Wood ſuppoſes, with reaſon, that the name of Balbec, which in Syriac ſignifies *City of Bal*, or of the Sun, originated in this worſhip. The Greeks, by naming it Heliopolis, have, in this inſtance, only given a literal tranſlation of the oriental word, a practice to which they have not always adhered. We are ignorant of the ſtate of this city in remote antiquity; but it is to be preſumed that its ſituation, on the road from Tyre to Palmyra, gave it ſome part of the commerce of thoſe opulent capitals. Under the Romans, in the time of Auguſtus, it is mentioned as a garriſon town; and there is ſtill remaining, on the wall of the ſouthern gate, on the right, as we enter, an inſcription which proves the truth of this, the words KENTURIA PRIMA, in Greek characters, being very legible. One hundred and forty years after, Antoninus built

(*k*) He there calls it Heliopolis, a city of the *Aſſyrians*, the ancients frequently confounding that nation with the *Syrians*.

there

there the preſent temple, inſtead of the ancient one, which was doubtleſs falling into ruins; but Chriſtianity having gained the aſcendency under Conſtantine, the modern temple was neglected, and afterwards converted into a church, a wall of which is now remaining, that hid the ſanctuary of the idols. It continued thus until the invaſion of the Arabs, when it is probable they envied the Chriſtians ſo beautiful a building. The church, being leſs frequented, fell to decay; wars ſucceeded, and it was converted into a place of defence; battlements were built on the wall which ſurrounded it, on the pavillions and at the angles, which ſtill ſubſiſt; and from that time, the temple, expoſed to the ravages of war, fell rapidly to ruin.

The ſtate of the city is not leſs deplorable; the wretched government of the Emirs of the houſe of Harfouſhe, had already greatly impaired it, and the earthquake of 1759 compleated its deſtruction. The wars of the Emir Youſef, and Djezzar, have rendered it ſtill more deſerted and ruinous; of five thouſand inhabitants, at which num-

ber they were eſtimated in 1751, not twelve hundred are now remaining, and all theſe poor, without induſtry or commerce, and cultivating nothing but a little cotton, ſome maize, and water-melons. Throughout this part of the country, the ſoil is poor, and continues to be ſo, both as we proceed to the north, or to the ſouth-eaſt, toward Damaſcus.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXX.

### *Of the Pachalic of Damaſcus.*

THE Pachalic of Damaſcus, the fourth and laſt of Syria, comprehends nearly the whole eaſtern part of that country. It extends, to the north, from Marra, on the road to Aleppo, as far as Habroun, in the ſouth-eaſt of Paleſtine. It is bounded to the weſt by the mountains of the Anſarians, thoſe of Anti-Lebanon, and the upper part of the Jordan; then croſſing that river in the country of Biſan, it includes Nablous, Jeruſalem, and Habroun, and enters the deſert to the eaſt, into which it advances more or leſs, according as the country is capable of cultivation; but in general it does not extend to any conſiderable diſtance from the latter mountains, except where it approaches Tadmour or Palmyra, toward which it ſtretches full five days journey.

In this vaſt extent of country, the ſoil and its productions are very various; but the plains of the Hauran, and thoſe on the banks of the Orontes, are the moſt fertile: they produce

produce wheat, barley, doura, ſeſamum, and cotton. The ſoil of the country of Damaſcus, and the Upper Bekaa, is gravelly and poor, better adapted to fruits and tobacco, than any thing elſe. On the mountains are cultivated olive, mulberry, and fruit trees, and in ſome places vines, from which the Greeks make wine, and the Mahometans dried raiſins.

The Pacha enjoys all the privileges of his poſt, which are more conſiderable than thoſe of any other Pachalic; for beſides the farm of all the cuſtoms and impoſts, and an abſolute authority, he is alſo conductor of the ſacred caravan of Mecca, under the highly reſpected title of *Emir Hadj (l)*. The Mahometans conſider this office as ſo important, and entitled to ſuch reverence, that the perſon of a Pacha who acquits himſelf well in it, becomes inviolable even by the Sultan: it is no longer permitted to *ſhed his blood*. But the Divan has invented a method of ſatisfying its vengeance on thoſe who are protected by this

(*l*) The caravan of Mecca bears excluſively the name of *Hadi*, which ſignifies pilgrimage: the others are called ſimply *Kaſle*.

privilege,

privilege, without departing from the literal expreſſion of the law, by ordering them to be pounded in a mortar, or ſmothered in a ſack, of which there have been various inſtances.

The tribute of the Pacha to the Sultan, is no more than forty-five purſes (two thouſand three hundred and forty-three pounds); but he is charged with all the expences of the Hadj: theſe are eſtimated at ſix thouſand purſes, or three hundred and twelve thouſand five hundred pounds. They conſiſt of proviſions of corn, barley, rice, &c. and in the hire of camels, which muſt be provided for the eſcort and a great number of pilgrims. Beſides this, eighteen hundred purſes muſt be paid to the Arab tribes, who dwell near the road, to ſecure a free paſſage. The Pacha reimburſes himſelf by the miri, or duty upon lands, either by collecting it himſelf, or by farming it out, as he does in many places. He does not receive the cuſtoms, theſe are collected by a *Deftar-dar*, or maſter of the regiſters, and are appointed for the pay of the Janiſaries, and governors of caſtles, which are on the route to Mecca. Beſides his other emoluments, the Pacha is the heir of all the pilgrims who die on the journey, and this is not the

the leaſt of his perquiſites; for it is invariably obſerved that thoſe are the richeſt of the pilgrims. Beſides all this, he has the profits he makes by lending money for intereſt to merchants and farmers, and taking from them whatever he thinks proper, in the way of *balſe*, or extortion.

His military eſtabliſhment conſiſts in ſix or ſeven hundred Janiſaries, better conditioned, and more inſolent, than in other parts of the country; as many Barbary Arabs, who are naked, and plunderers as they are every where, and in eight or nine hundred Delli-baſhes, or horſemen. Theſe troops, which in Syria paſs for a conſiderable army, are neceſſary, not only by way of eſcort for the caravan, and to reſtrain the Arabs, but likewiſe to enable him to collect the miri from his own ſubjects. Every year, three months before the departure of the Hadj, he makes what is called his circuit; that is, the travels through his vaſt government, at the head of his ſoldiers, and raiſes contributions on the towns and villages. This is ſeldom effected without reſiſtance; the ignorant populace, excited by factious chiefs, or provoked by the injuſtice of the Pacha, frequently revolt, and pay

pay the ſums levied on them with the muſket; the inhabitants of Nablous, Bethlehem, and Habroun, are famous for this refractorineſs, which has procured them peculiar privileges; but when opportunity offers, they are made to pay ten-fold. The Pachalic of Damaſcus, from its ſituation, is more expoſed than any other to the incurſions of the Bedouin Arabs; yet it is remarked to be the leaſt ravaged of any in Syria. The reaſon aſſigned is, that inſtead of frequently changing the Pachas, as is practiſed in the other governments, the Porte uſually beſtows this pachalic for life: in the preſent century it was held for fifty years by a rich family of Damaſcus, called El-Adm, a father and three brothers of which ſucceeded each other. Aſad, the laſt of them, whom I have before mentioned in the hiſtory of Daher, held it fifteen years, during which time he did an infinite deal of good. He had likewiſe eſtabliſhed ſuch a degree of diſcipline among the ſoldiers as to prevent the peaſants from being injured by their robberies and extortions. His paſſion, like that of all men in office throughout Turkey, was to amaſs money, but he did not let it remain idle in his coffers, and,

by

by a moderation unheard of in this country, required no more intereſt for it than ſix per cent *(m)*. An anecdote is related of him which will give an idea of his character: Being one day in want of money, the informers, by whom the Pachas are conſtantly ſurrounded, adviſed him to levy a contribution on the Chriſtians, and on the manufacturers of ſtuffs. "How much do you think "that may produce?" ſaid Aſad. "Fifty "or ſixty purſes," replied they. "But," anſwered he, "theſe people are by no means "rich, how will they raiſe that ſum?" "My "Lord, they will ſell their wives jewels: "and, beſides, they are Chriſtian dogs." "I'll ſhew you," replied the Pacha, "that I "am an abler extortioner than you." The ſame day he ſent an order to the Mufti to wait upon him ſecretly, and at night. As ſoon as the Mufti arrived, Aſad told him, "he was informed he had long led a "very irregular life in private; that he, "though the head of the law, had indulged "himſelf in drinking wine and eating pork,

(*m*) In Syria and in Egypt, the ordinary intereſt is from twelve to fifteen, nay, frequently from twenty to thirty per cent.

contrary

" contrary to the precepts of the moſt pure " book; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, he " was determined to inform againſt him to " the Mufti of Stamboul (Conſtantinople), " but that he wiſhed to give him timely no- " tice, that he might not reproach him with " perfidiouſneſs." The Mufti, terrified at this menace, conjured him to deſiſt; and, as ſuch offers are an open and allowed traffic among the Turks, promiſed him a preſent of a thouſand piaſtres. The Pacha rejected the offer; the Mufti doubled and trebled the ſum, till at length they agreed for ſix thouſand piaſtres, with the reciprocal engagement to obſerve a profound ſilence. The next day, Aſad ſends for the Cadi, and addreſſes him in the ſame manner; tells him he is informed of ſeveral flagrant abuſes in his adminiſtration; and that he is no ſtranger to a certain affair, which may perhaps coſt him his head. The Cadi, confounded, implores his clemency, negociates like the Mufti; accommodates the matter for a like ſum, and retires, congratulating himſelf that he has eſcaped even at that price. He proceeded in the ſame manner with the Wali, the Nakib, the Aga of the Janiſaries, the Mohteſeb, and,

after

after them, with the wealthieſt Turkiſh and Chriſtian merchants. Each of theſe, charged with offences peculiar to their ſituations; and, above all, accuſed of intrigues, were anxious to purchaſe pardon by contributions. When the ſum total was collected, the Pacha, being again with his intimates, thus addreſſed them, "Have you heard it reported, in "Damaſcus, that Aſad has been guilty of "extortion?" "No, Seignior." By what "means, then, have I found the two hun-"dred purſes I now ſhew you?" The informers began to exclaim in great admiration, and enquire what method he had employed. "I have fleeced the rams," replied he, "and "not ſkinned the lambs and the kids."

After fifteen years reign, the people of Damaſcus were deprived of this man, by intrigues, the hiſtory of which is thus related: About the year 1755, one of the black eunuchs of the ſeraglio, making the pilgrimage of Mecca, took up his quarters with Aſad; but not contented with the ſimple hoſpitality with which he was entertained, he would not return by Damaſcus, but took the road to Gaza. Hoſein Pacha, who then was Governor of that town, took care to give him a ſumptuous entertainment.

tertainment. The eunuch, on his return to Conſtantinople, did not forget the treatment he had received from his two hoſts, and, to ſhew at once his gratitude and reſentment, determined to ruin Aſad, and raiſe Hoſein to his dignity. His intrigues were ſo ſucceſsful that, in the year 1756, Jeruſalem was detached from the government of Damaſcus, and beſtowed upon Hoſein, under the title of a Pachalic, and the following year he obtained that of Damaſcus. Aſad, thus depoſed, retired with his houſehold into the deſert, to avoid ſtill greater diſgrace. The time of the caravan arrived: Hoſein conducted it, agreeable to the duty of his ſtation; but, on his return, having quarrelled with the Arabs, concerning ſome payment they claimed, they attacked him, defeated the eſcort, and entirely plundered the caravan, in 1757. On the news of this diſaſter, the whole empire was thrown into as much confuſion as could have been occaſioned by the loſs of the moſt important battle. The families of twenty thouſand pilgrims, who had periſhed with thirſt and hunger, or been ſlain by the Arabs; the relations of a multitude of women who had been carried into ſlavery; the merchants intereſted in

the plundered caravan, all demanded vengeance on the cowardice of the Emir Hadj, and the ſacrilege of the Bedouins. The Porte, alarmed, at firſt proſcribed the head of Hoſein; but he concealed himſelf ſo well, that it was impoſſible to ſurpriſe him; while he, from his retreat, acting in concert with the Eunuch his protector, undertook to exculpate himſelf, in which, after three months, he ſucceeded, by producing a real or fictitious letter of Aſad, by which it appeared that this Pacha had excited the Arabs to attack the caravan, to revenge himſelf of Hoſein. The proſcription was now turned againſt Aſad, and nothing but the opportunity wanting to carry it into execution.

The pachalic, however, remained vacant: Hoſein, diſgraced as he was, could not reſume his government. The Porte, deſiring to revenge the late affront, and provide for the ſafety of the pilgrims in future, made choice of a ſingular man, whoſe character and hiſtory deſerve to be noticed. This man, named Abd-allah-el-Satadji, was born near Bagdad, in an obſcure ſtation. Entering very young into the ſervice of the Pacha, he had paſſed the firſt years of his life in camps

and

and war, and been preſent, as a common ſoldier, in all the campaigns of the Turks againſt the famous Shah-Thamas-Kouli-Khan: and the bravery and abilities he diſplayed, raiſed him, ſtep by ſtep, even to the dignity of Pacha of Bagdad. Advanced to this eminent poſt, he conducted himſelf with ſo much firmneſs and prudence, that he reſtored peace to the country from both foreign and domeſtic wars. The ſimple and military life he continued to lead requiring no great ſupplies of money, he amaſſed none; but the great officers of the Seraglio of Conſtantinople, who derived no profits from his moderation, did not approve of this diſintereſtedneſs, and waited only for a pretext to remove him.

This they ſoon found. Abdallah had kept back the ſum of one hundred thouſand livres (above four thouſand pounds), ariſing from the eſtate of a merchant. Scarcely had the Pacha received it, before it was demanded from him. In vain did he repreſent, that he had uſed it to pay ſome old arrears of the troops; in vain did he requeſt time: the Viſir only preſſed him the more cloſely; and, on a ſecond refuſal, diſpatched a black eunuch, ſecretly provided with a kat-ſherif, to take off his

head. The eunuch, arriving at Bagdad, feigned himſelf a ſick perſon travelling for his health; and, as ſuch, ſent his reſpects to the Pacha; obſerving the uſual forms of politeneſs, and requeſting permiſſion to pay him a viſit. Abd-allah, well acquainted with the practices of the Divan, was diſtruſtful of ſo much complaiſance, and ſuſpected ſome ſecret miſchief. His treaſurer, not leſs verſed in ſuch plots, and greatly attached to his perſon, confirmed him in theſe ſuſpicions; and, in order to diſcover the truth, propoſed to go and ſearch the eunuch's baggage, while he and his retinue ſhould be paying their viſit to the Pacha. Abd-allah approved the expedient, and, at the hour appointed, the treaſurer repaired to the tent of the eunuch, and made ſo careful a ſearch, that he found the kat-ſherif concealed in the lapelles of a peliſſe. Immediately he flew to the Pacha, and, ſending for him into an adjoining room, told him what he had diſcovered *(n)*. Abd-allah, furniſhed with the fatal writing, hid it in his boſom, and returned to the apart-

*(n)* I have theſe facts from a perſon who was intimate with this treaſurer, and had ſeen Abd-allah at Jeruſalem.

ment;

ment; when reſuming, with an air of the greateſt indifference, his converſation with the eunuch: "The more I think of it," ſaid he, "Seignior Aga, the more I am aſtoniſh-"ed at your journey into this country; Bag-"dad is ſo far from Stamboul, and we can "boaſt ſo little of our air, that I can ſcarcely "believe you have come hither for no other "purpoſe but the re-eſtabliſhment of your "health." "It is true," replied the Aga; "I am alſo commiſſioned to demand of you "ſomething on account of the four thouſand "pounds you received." "We will ſay no-"thing of that," anſwered the Pacha, "but "come," added he with an air of firmneſs, "confeſs that you have likewiſe orders to "bring with you my head. Obſerve what "I ſay, you know my character, and you "know my word may be depended on: I "now aſſure you that, if you make an open "declaration of the truth, you ſhall depart "without the leaſt injury." The eunuch now began a long defence, proteſting that he came with no ſuch black intentions. "*By my head*," ſaid Abd-allah, "confeſs to "me the truth:" the eunuch ſtill denied. "*By your head*;" he ſtill denied: "Take

" care, *By the head of the Sultan*;" he ſtill perſiſted. " Be it ſo," ſays 'Abd-allah, the " matter is decided: thou haſt pronounced thy " doom;" and drawing forth the kat-ſherif, " know you this paper? Thus you govern at " Conſtantinople! Yes, you are a troop of " villains, who ſport with the lives of who- " ever happen to diſpleaſe you, and ſhed, " without remorſe, the blood of the ſervants " of the Sultan. The Viſir muſt have heads: " he ſhall have one; off with the head of " that dog, and ſend it to Conſtantinople." The order was executed on the ſpot, and the eunuch's retinue, diſmiſſed, departed with his head.

After this deciſive ſtroke, Abd-allah might have availed himſelf of his popularity to revolt; but he rather choſe to retire among the Curds. Here the pardon of the Sultan was ſent him, and an order, appointing him Pacha of Damaſcus. Wearied of his exile, and deſtitute of money, he accepted the commiſſion, and ſet out with one hundred men who followed his fortune. On his arrival on the frontiers of his new government, he learnt that Aſad was encamped in the neighbourhood: he had heard him ſpoken of as the greateſt

man in Syria, and was desirous of seeing him. He therefore disguised himself, and, accompanied only by six horsemen, repaired to his camp, and desired to speak with him. He was introduced, as is usual in these camps, without much ceremony; and, after the customary salutations, Asad enquired of him whither he was going, and whence he came? Abd-allah replied, he was one of six or seven Curd horsemen who were seeking employment, and hearing Satadji was appointed to the Pachalic of Damascus, were going to apply to him; but being informed on their way that Asad was encamped in the neighbourhood, they had come to request of him provisions for themselves and their horses. With pleasure, replied Asad; but do you know Satadji? Yes. What sort of a man is he? Is he fond of money? No; Satadji cares very little for money or pelisses, or shawls or pearls, or women; he is fond of nothing but well-tempered arms, good horses, and war. He does justice, protects the widow and the orphan, reads the Koran, and lives on butter and milk. Is he old? said Asad. Fatigue has made him appear older than he is: he is covered with wounds; he has received a blow

with a ſabre, which has made him lame of his left leg; and another, which makes him lean his head on his right ſhoulder. In ſhort, ſaid he, haſtily riſing, he is, in ſhape and features, exactly my picture. At theſe words Aſad turned pale, and gave himſelf up for loſt; but Abd-allah, ſitting down again, ſaid to him, Brother, fear nothing; I am not ſent by troop of banditti; I come not to betray thee: on the contrary, if I can render thee any ſervice, command me, for we are both held in the ſame eſtimation with our maſters; they have recalled me, becauſe they wiſh to chaſtiſe the Bedouins; when they have gratified their revenge on them, they will again lay plots to deprive me of my head. *God is great; what he has decreed will come to paſs.*

With theſe ſentiments, Abd-allah repaired to Damaſcus; where he reſtored good order, put an end to the extortions of the ſoldiery, and conducted the caravan, ſabre in hand, without paying a piaſtre to the Arabs. During his adminiſtration, which laſted two years, the country enjoyed the moſt perfect tranquillity. The inhabitants of Damaſcus ſtill ſay, that under his government they ſlept

in ſecurity with open doors. He himſelf, frequently diſguiſed as one of the pooreſt of the people, ſaw every thing with his own eyes. The acts of juſtice he ſometimes did, in conſequence of his diſcoveries under theſe diſguiſes, produced a ſalutary circumſpection. Some inſtances are ſtill told by the people with pleaſure. It is ſaid, for example, that being on his circuit at Jeruſalem, he had prohibited his ſoldiers from either taking, or ordering any thing without paying. One day, when he was going about in the diſguiſe of a poor man with a little plate of lentiles in his hand, a ſoldier, who had a faggot on his ſhoulders, would force him to carry it. After ſome reſiſtance, he took it on his back, while the Delibaſhe following him, drove him on with imprecations. Another ſoldier, knowing the Pacha, made a ſign to his comrade, who inſtantly took to flight, and eſcaped through the croſs ſtreets. After proceeding a few paces, Abd-allah, no longer hearing his man, turned round, and vexed at miſſing his aim, threw his burthen on the ground, ſaying, The raſcally knaviſh dog! he has both robbed me of my hire, and carried off my plate of lentiles. But the ſoldier did not long

eſcape;

eſcape; for, a few days after, the Pacha, again ſurpriſing him in the act of robbing a poor woman's garden, and ill treating her, ordered his head to be ſtruck off upon the ſpot.

As for himſelf, he was unable to ward off the deſtiny he had foreſeen. After eſcaping ſeveral times from hired aſſaſſins, he was poiſoned by his nephew. This he diſcovered before he died, and, ſending for his murderer: Wretch that thou art, ſaid he, the villains have ſeduced thee, thou haſt poiſoned me to profit by my ſpoils: it is in my power, before I die, to blaſt thy hopes, and puniſh thy ingratitude; but I know the Turks; they will be my avengers. In fact, Satadji had ſcarcely breathed his laſt before a Capidji produced an order to ſtrangle the nephew: which was executed. The whole hiſtory of the Turks proves that they love treaſon, but invariably puniſh the traitors. Since Abdallah, the Pachalic of Damaſcus has paſſed ſucceſſively into the hands of Selik, Oſman, Mohammed, and Darouiſh, the ſon of Oſman, who held it in 1784. This man, who has not the talents of his father, reſembles him in his tyrannical diſpoſition, of which the following is a ſtriking inſtance. In the month of November,

November, 1784, a village of Greek Chriſtians, near Damaſcus, which had paid the miri, was called upon to pay it a ſecond time. The Shaiks, appealing to the regiſter, refuſed to comply; but a night or two after, a party of ſoldiers attacked the village, and ſlew one and thirty perſons. The wretched peaſants, in conſternation, carried the heads to Damaſcus, and demanded juſtice of the Pacha. After hearing their complaints, Darouiſh told them to leave the heads in the Greek church, while he made the neceſſary enquiries. Three days elapſed, and the heads putrifying, the Criſtians wiſhed to bury them; but for this the Pacha's permiſſion was neceſſary, for which they were under the neceſſity of paying forty purſes, or above two thouſand pounds.

About a year ago, (in 1785), Djezzar, availing himſelf of the influence his money had procured him at the Porte, diſpoſſeſſed Darouiſh, and governs at preſent at Damaſcus, to which it is ſaid he is endeavouring to add the pachalic of Aleppo. But it is not probable the Porte will conſent to grant him this, as ſuch an increaſe of power would render him maſter of all Syria; but beſides that the

the neceſſity of obſerving the Ruſſians leaves the Divan no leiſure to conſider theſe affairs, it concerns itſelf but little about the revolt of the governors, ſince conſtant experience has proved, that, ſooner or later, they never fail to fall into the ſnares that are laid for them. Nor is Djezzar likely to be an exception to this rule; for though not deſtitute of talents, and eſpecially cunning *(o)*, his abilities are unequal to the taſk of conceiving and accompliſhing a great revolution. The courſe he purſues is that of all his predeceſſors: he only concerns himſelf with the welfare of the public, ſo far as it coincides with his private intereſt. The Moſque he has built at Acre is a monument of pure vanity, on which he has expended, without any advantage, the ſum of three millions of livres, (one hundred and twenty five thouſand pounds): his Bazar is undoubtedly of more utility; but before he began to build a market for the ſale of corn and vegetables, he ſhould have paid ſome attention to the ſtate of agriculture, by which they are to be pro-

(*o*) Baron de Tott has called Djezzar a *lion*: I think he would have defined him better by calling him a *wolf*.

duced,

duced, and this is in a very languiſhing condition indeed, except cloſe to the walls of Acre. The principal part of his expences conſiſts in his gardens, his baths, and his white women: of the latter he poſſeſſed eighteen in 1784, and the luxury of theſe women is moſt enormous. As he is now growing old and has loſt the reliſh for other pleaſures, he regards nothing but amaſſing money. His avarice has alienated his ſoldiers, and his ſeverity created him enemies even in his own houſe. Two of his pages have already attempted to aſſaſſinate him; he has had the good luck to eſcape their piſtols, but fortune will not always favour him; he will one day ſhare the fate of ſo many others, and be taken by ſurprize, when he will reap no other fruit from his induſtry in heaping up wealth, than the eagerneſs of the Porte to obtain poſſeſſion of it, and the hatred of the people he has oppreſſed. Let us now return to the moſt remarkable places in this Pachalic.

The firſt that preſents itſelf is the city of Damaſcus, the capital and reſidence of the Pachas. The Arabs call it *el-Sham*, agreeable to their cuſtom of beſtowing the name

of

of the country on its capital. The ancient Oriental name of *Demeſhk* is known only to geographers. This city is ſituated in a vaſt plain, open to the ſouth and eaſt, and ſhut in toward the weſt and north by mountains, which limit the view at no great diſtance; but in return, a number of rivulets ariſe from theſe mountains, which render the territory of Damaſcus the beſt watered and moſt delicious province of all Syria; the Arabs ſpeak of it with enthuſiaſm; and think they can never ſufficiently extol the freſhneſs and verdure of its orchards, the abundance and variety of its fruits, its numerous ſtreams, and the clearneſs of its rills and fountains. This is alſo the only part of Syria where there are detached pleaſure houſes in the open country. The natives muſt ſet a higher value on theſe advantages, as they are more rare in the adjacent provinces. In other reſpects, the ſoil, which is poor, gravelly, and of a reddiſh colour, is ill adapted for corn; but is on that account more ſuitable to fruits, which are here excellently flavoured. No city contains ſo many canals and fountains; each houſe has one; and all theſe waters are furniſhed by three rivulets, or branches of the

ſame

ſame river, which after fertilizing the gardens for a courſe of three leagues, flow into a hollow of the Deſert to the ſouth-eaſt, where they form a moraſs called *Behairat-el-Mardj*, or the Lake of the Meadow.

With ſuch a ſituation it cannot be diſputed that Damaſcus is one of the moſt agreeable cities in Turkey; but it is ſtill deficient in point of ſalubrity. The inhabitants complain with reaſon, that the white waters of the Barrada are cold and hard; and it is obſerved that the natives are ſubject to obſtructions; that the whiteneſs of their ſkin is rather the paleneſs of ſickneſs, than the colour of health; and that the too great uſe of fruit, particularly of apricots, occaſions there, every ſummer and autumn, intermittent fevers and dyſenteries.

Damaſcus is much longer than it is broad. M. Niebuhr, who has given a plan of it, makes it three thouſand two hundred and fifty toiſes, or ſomething leſs than a league and a half in circumference. Comparing theſe dimenſions with thoſe of Aleppo, I ſuppoſe that Damaſcus may contain eighty thouſand inhabitants. The greater part of the ſeare Arabs and Turks; the number of Chriſtians

Chriſtians are eſtimated at above fifteen thouſand, two thirds of whom are Schiſmatics. The Turks never ſpeak of the people of Damaſcus without obſerving, that they are the moſt miſchievous in the whole empire; the Arabs, by a play on words, have made this proverb: *Shami, ſhoumi*, The man of Damaſcus, wicked: on the contrary, they ſay of the people of Aleppo, *Halabi, tchelebi*, The Aleppo man, a *petit maitre*. From a prejudice ariſing from the difference of religions, they alſo add, that the Chriſtians there are more vile and knaviſh than elſewhere; doubtleſs, becauſe the Mahometans are there more fanatic and more inſolent. In this they reſemble the inhabitants of Cairo; like them, they deteſt the Franks, nor is it poſſible to appear at Damaſcus in a European dreſs; our merchants have not been able to form any eſtabliſhment there; we only meet with two Capuchin Miſſionaries, and a phyſician who is not permitted to practiſe.

This hatred the people of Damaſcus bear the Chriſtians, is maintained and increaſed by their communication with Mecca. Their city, ſay they, is a holy place, ſince it is one

one of the gates of the Caaba: for Damaſcus is the rendezvous for all the pilgrims from the north of Aſia, as Cairo is for thoſe from Africa. Their number every year amounts to from thirty to fifty thouſand; many of them repair hither four months before the time, but the greateſt number only at the end of the Ramadan. Damaſcus then reſembles an immenſe fair; nothing is to be ſeen but ſtrangers from all parts of Turkey, and even Perſia; and every place is full of camels, horſes, mules, and merchandize. At length, after ſome days preparations, all this vaſt multitude ſet out confuſedly on their march, and, travelling by the confines of the Deſert, arrive in forty days at Mecca, for the feſtival of the Bairam. As this caravan traverſes the country of ſeveral independent Arab tribes, it is neceſſary to make treaties with the Bedouins, to allow them certain ſums of money for a free paſſage, and take them for guides. There are frequent diſputes on this ſubject between the Shaiks, of which the Pacha avails himſelf to make a better bargain; but in general the preference is given to the tribe of Sardia, which encamps to the ſouth of Damaſcus, along the Hauran; the Pacha,

ſends to the Shaik a mace, a tent, and a peliſſe, to ſignify he takes him as his chief conductor. From this moment it is the Shaik's buſineſs to furniſh camels at a ſtated price; theſe he hires likewiſe from his tribe and his allies; the Pacha is reſponſible for no damages, and all loſſes are on his own account. On an average, ten thouſand camels periſh yearly; which forms a very advantageous article of commerce for the Arabs.

It muſt not be imagined that the ſole motive of all theſe expences and fatigues is devotion. Pecuniary intereſt has a more conſiderable ſhare in this expedition. The caravan affords the means of engroſſing every lucrative branch of commerce; almoſt all the pilgrims convert it into a matter of ſpeculation. On leaving their own country, they load themſelves with merchandize, which they ſell on the road; the ſpecie ariſing from this, added to what they have brought with them, is conveyed to Mecca, where they exchange it for muſlins and India goods from Malabar and Bengal, the ſhawls of Caſhmire, the aloes of Tonquin, the diamonds of Golconda, the pearls of Barhain, pepper, and a great

great quantity of coffee from the Yemen. Sometimes the Arabs of the Deſert deceive the expectation of the merchant, by pillaging the ſtragglers, and carrying off detached parties of the caravan. But in general the pilgrims arrive ſafe; in which caſe their profits are very conſiderable. At all events they are recompenſed in the veneration attached to the title of *Hadji*, (Pilgrim); and by the pleaſure of boaſting to their countrymen of the wonders of the Caaba, and Mount Araſat; of magnifying the prodigious crouds of pilgrims, and the number of victims, on the day of the Bairam; and recounting the dangers and fatigues they have undergone, the extraordinary figure of the Bedouins, the Deſert without water, and the tomb of the prophet at Medina, which, however, is neither ſuſpended by a load-ſtone, nor the principal object of their pilgrimage. Theſe wonderful tales produce their uſual effect, that is, they excite the admiration and enthuſiaſm of the audience, though, from the confeſſion of ſincere pilgrims, nothing can be more wretched than this journey. Accordingly, this tranſient admiration has not prevented a proverb, which does little honor to theſe pious travellers.

*Diſtruſt thy neighbour*, ſays the Arab, *if he has made a Hadj; but if he has made two, make haſte to leave thy houſe:* and, in fact, experience has proved that the greater part of the devotees of Mecca are peculiarly inſolent and treacherous, as if they wiſhed to recompenſe themſelves for having been dupes, by becoming knaves.

By means of this caravan, Damaſcus is become the centre of a very extenſive commerce. By Aleppo, the merchants of this city correſpond with Armenia, Anadolia, the Diarbekar, and even with Perſia. They ſend caravans to Cairo, which, following a route frequented in the time of the patriarchs, take their courſe by Djeſr-Yakoub, Tabaria, Nablous and Gaza. In return, they receive the merchandize of Conſtantinople and Europe, by way of Saide and Bairout. The home conſumption is balanced by ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, which are manufactured here in great quantities, and are very well made; by the dried fruits of their own growth, and ſweetmeat cakes of roſes, apricots and peaches, of which Turkey conſumes to the amount of near a million of livres, (about forty thouſand pounds). The remainder, paid for by the courſe

courſe of exchange, occaſions a conſiderable circulation of money in cuſtom-houſe duties, and the commiſſion of the merchants. This commerce has exiſted in theſe countries from the earlieſt antiquity. It has flowed through different channels, according to the changes of the government, and other circumſtances; but it has every where left very apparent traces of the opulence it produced.

The Pachalic of which I am ſpeaking, affords a monument of this kind too remarkable to be paſſed over in ſilence; I mean the remains of Palmyra, a city celebrated in the third age of Rome, for the part it took in the differences between the Parthians and the Romans, the power and fall of Odenatus and Zenobia, and its deſtruction under Aurelian. From that time hiſtory preſerved the name of this great city, but it was merely the name, for the world had very confuſed ideas of the real grandeur and power it had poſſeſſed. They were ſcarcely even ſuſpected in Europe, until towards the end of the laſt century, when ſome Engliſh merchants of Aleppo, tired with hearing the Bedouins talk of the immenſe ruins to be found in the Deſert, re-

ſolved to aſcertain the truth of theſe extraordinary relations. The firſt attempt was made in 1678, but without ſucceſs; the adventurers were robbed of all they had by the Arabs, and obliged to return without accompliſhing their deſign. They again took courage in 1691, and at length obtained a ſight of the antiquities in queſtion. Their narrative, publiſhed in the philoſophical tranſactions, met with many who refuſed belief; men could neither conceive nor perſuade themſelves that in a ſpot ſo remote from any habitable place, ſuch a magnificent city as their drawings deſcribed could have ſubſiſted. But ſince Mr. Dawkins publiſhed, in 1753, the plans and views he himſelf had taken on the ſpot in 1751, all doubts are at an end, and it is univerſally acknowledged that antiquity has left nothing, either in Greece or Italy, to be compared with the magnificence of the ruins of Palmyra.

I ſhall give a ſummary of the relation of Mr. Wood, the companion and editor of the journey of Mr Dawkins (*p*)

(*p*) *Ruins of Palmyra*, by Robert Wood, 1 vol. in folio with fifty plates, London 1753.

" After

" After learning at Damaſcus that Tad-
" mour, or Palmyra, depended on an Aga
" who reſided at Haſſia, we repaired, in four
" days, to that village, which is ſituated in
" the Deſert, on the route from Damaſcus
" to Aleppo. The Aga received us with
" that hoſpitality which is ſo common in theſe
" countries amongſt all ranks of people,
" and, though extremely ſurprized at our
" curioſity, gave us inſtructions how to ſatiſ-
" fy it in the beſt manner. We ſet out
" from Haſſia the 11th of March 1751,
" with an eſcort of the Aga's beſt Arab
" horſemen, armed with guns and long
" pikes; and travelled in four hours to
" Sudud, through a barren plain, ſcarce
" affording a little browzing to ante-
" lopes, of which we ſaw a great number.
" Sudud is a poor ſmall village, inhabited by
" Maronite Chriſtians. Its houſes are built
" of no better materials than mud dried in
" the ſun. They cultivate as much ground
" about the village as is neceſſary for their
" bare ſubſiſtence, and make a good red
" wine. After dinner, we continued our
" journey, and arrived in three hours at

" Owareen, a Turkiſh village, where we " lay.

" Owareen has the ſame appearance of " poverty as Sudud; but we found a few " ruins there, which ſhew it to have been " formerly a more conſiderable place. We " remarked a village near this entirely aban- " doned by its inhabitants, which happens " often in theſe countries; where the lands " have no acquired value from cultivation, " and are often deſerted to avoid oppreſſion. " We ſet out from Owareen the 12th, and " arrived in three hours at Carietein, keep- " ing always in the direction of a point and " a half to the ſouth of the eaſt. This " village differs from the former, only by " being a little larger. It was thought pro- " per we ſhould ſtay here this day, as well " to collect the reſt of our eſcort which the " Aga had ordered to attend us, as to pre- " pare our people and cattle for the fatigue " of the remaining part of our journey; for, " though we could not perform it in leſs " time than twenty-four hours, it could not " be divided into ſtages, as there is no water " in that part of the Deſert.

" We

" We left Carietein the 13th, being in " all about two hundred perſons, with the " ſame number of beaſts of carriage, conſiſt- " ing of an odd mixture of aſſes, mules, and " camels. Our route was a little to the eaſt " of the north, through a flat ſandy plain, " without either tree or water, the whole " about ten miles broad, and bounded, to our " right and left, by a ridge of barren hills, " which ſeemed to join about two miles " before we arrived at Palmyra.

" The 14th, about noon, we arrived at the " end of the plain, where the hills ſeemed to " meet. We find between theſe hills a vale, " through which an aqueduct (now ruined) " formerly conveyed water to Palmyra. In " this vale, to our right and left, were ſeveral " ſquare towers of a conſiderable height, " which upon a nearer approach, we found " were the ſepulchres of the ancient Palmy- " renes. We had ſcarce paſſed theſe venera- " ble monuments, than the hills opening, " diſcovered to us, all at once, the greateſt " quantity of ruins we had ever ſeen (*q*), and, " behind them, towards the Euphrates, a flat

(*q*) Though theſe travellers had viſited *Greece* and *Italy*.

" waſte

" waſte as far as the eye could reach, without " any object which ſhewed either life or " motion. It is ſcarce poſſible to imagine " any thing more ſtriking than this view. " So great a number of Corinthian pillars, " with ſo little wall or ſolid building, " afforded a moſt romantic variety of proſ- " pect."

Undoubtedly the effect of ſuch a ſight is not to be communicated; but, to enable the reader to form a better idea of it, I annex the perſpective view. To have a juſt conception of the whole, the dimenſions muſt be ſupplied by the imagination. This narrow ſpace muſt be conſidered as a vaſt plain, thoſe minute ſhafts, as columns whoſe baſe alone exceeds the height of a man. The reader muſt repreſent to himſelf that range of erect columns, as occupying an extent of more than twenty-ſix hundred yards, and concealing a multitude of other edifices behind them. In this ſpace we ſometimes find a palace, of which nothing remains but the courts and walls; ſometimes a temple whoſe periſtyle is half thrown down; and now, a portico, a gallery, or triumphal arch. Here ſtand groups of columns, whoſe ſymmetry is

deſtroyed by the fall of many of them; there we ſee them ranged in rows of ſuch length, that ſimilar to rows of trees, they deceive the ſight, and aſſume the appearance of continued walls. If from this ſtriking ſcene we caſt our eyes upon the ground, another, almoſt as varied, preſents itſelf: on all ſides we behold nothing but ſubverted ſhafts, ſome whole, others ſhattered to pieces, or diſlocated in their joints; and on which ſide ſoever we look, the earth is ſtrewed with vaſt ſtones half buried, with broken entablatures, damaged capitals, mutilated frizes, disfigured reliefs, effaced ſculptures, violated tombs, and altars defiled by duſt.

The following are the references to the annexed plate.

A, a Turkiſh caſtle, now deſerted.

B, a ſepulchre.

C, a ruined Turkiſh fortreſs.

D, a ſepulchre, from whence begins a range of columns which extend as far as R, upwards of twelve hundred yards.

E, an

E, an edifice ſuppoſed to be built by Dioclesian.

F, Ruins of a ſepulchre.

G, columns diſpoſed in the form of the periſtyle of a temple.

H, a grand edifice of which there remain only four columns.

I, Ruins of a Chriſtian church.

K, a range of columns which ſeem to have formed part of a portico, and which terminate in the four large pedeſtals marked L.

L, four large pedeſtals.

M, the cell of a temple with part of its periſtyle.

N, a ſmall temple.

O, a number of columns which have the falſe appearance of a Circus.

P, four magnificent columns of Granite.

Q, columns diſpoſed in the form of the periſtyle of a temple.

R, an arch, at which the portico which begins at D terminates.

S, a large column.

T, a Turkiſh Moſque in ruins, with its Minaret, *t*.

U, huge

U, huge columns, the largeſt of which, with its entablature, has been thrown down.

V, little incloſures of land where the Arabs cultivate olive-trees and corn.

X, Temple of the ſun.

Y, ſquare towers, built by the Turks where the portico formerly ſtood.

Z, wall which formed the encloſure of the court of the temple.

&. &. &. Sepulchres diſperſed over the valley, without the walls of the city.

But I muſt refer the reader to the plates of Mr. Wood, for a more particular explanation of theſe various edifices, and to make him ſenſible of the degree of perfection to which the arts had arrived in thoſe remote ages. Architecture more eſpecially laviſhed her ornaments and diſplayed her magnificence in the temple of the ſun, the tutelar deity of Palmyra. The ſquare court which encloſed it, was ſix hundred and ſeventy nine feet each way, and a double range of columns was continued all round the inſide. In the middle of the vacant ſpace, the temple preſents another front of forty-ſeven feet, by one hundred and twenty-four in depth. Around it

runs

runs a periſtyle of one hundred and forty columns, and, what is very extraordinary, the gate faces the ſetting and not the riſing ſun. The ſoffit of this gate which is lying on the ground, preſents a zodiac, the ſigns of which are the ſame as in ours. On another ſoffit is a bird ſimilar to that of Balbec, ſculptured on a ground of ſtars. It is a remark worthy the obſervation of hiſtorians, that the front of the portico has twelve pillars, like that of Balbec; but what artiſts will eſteem ſtill more curious is, that theſe two fronts reſemble the gallery of the Louvre, built by Perrault, long before the exiſtence of the drawings which made us acquainted with them; the only difference is, that the columns of the Louvre are double, whereas thoſe of Balbec and Palmyra are detached

Within the court of this ſame temple, the philoſopher may contemplate a ſcene he will eſteem ſtill more intereſting. Amid theſe hallowed ruins of the magnificence of a powerful and poliſhed people, are about thirty mudwalled huts, which contain as many peaſant families, who exhibit every external ſign of extreme poverty. So wretched are the preſent inhabitants of a place once ſo renowned

nowned and populous! Theſe Arabs only cultivate a few olive-trees, and as much corn as is barely neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence. All their riches conſiſt in ſome goats and ſheep they feed in the Deſert; and they have no other communication with the reſt of the world than by little caravans, which come to them five or ſix times a year from Homs, of which they are a dependency. Incapable of defending themſelves from violence, they are compelled to pay frequent contributions to the Bedouins, who by turns harraſs and protect them. The Engliſh travellers inform us, "Theſe peaſants are healthy and well "ſhaped, and the few diſtempers they are "ſubject to, prove that the air of Palmyra "merits the eulogium beſtowed on it by "Longinus, in his epiſtle to Porphyry. It "ſeldom rains there, except at the equinoxes, "which are accompanied alſo by thoſe hur-"ricanes of ſand, ſo dangerous in the De-"ſert. The complection of theſe Arabs is "very ſwarthy from the exceſſive heat; but "this does not hinder the women from "having beautiful features. They are veiled; "but are not ſo ſcrupulous of ſhewing their "faces as the eaſtern women generally are; "they

" they dye the end of their fingers red, (with " henna), their lips blue, and their eye- " brows and eye-laſhes black; and wear " very large gold or braſs rings in their ears " and noſes."

It is impoſſible to view ſo many monuments of induſtry and power, without wiſhing to be informed what age produced them, and what was the ſource of the immenſe riches they indicate; in a word, without enquiring into the hiſtory of Palmyra, and why it is ſo ſingularly ſituated, in a kind of iſland ſeparated from the habitable earth, by an ocean of barren ſands. The travellers I have quoted, have made very judicious reſearches into this queſtion, but too long to be inſerted here; I muſt again refer the reader to that work, to ſee in what manner they diſtinguiſh two ſorts of ruins at Palmyra, one of which muſt be attributed to very early ages, and are only rude, unſhapen maſſes; while the others, which are the magnificent monuments ſo often mentioned, are the work of more modern times. He will there ſee, in what manner they prove from the ſtyle of architecture, that theſe latter muſt have been erected in the three centuries preceding Dioclesian,

cleſian, in which the Corinthian was preferred to every other order. They demonſtrate with great ingenuity, that Palmyra, ſituated three days journey from the Euphrates, was indebted for its wealth and ſplendor to the advantage of its poſition on one of the great roads, by which the valuable commerce that has all times ſubſiſted between India and Europe was then carried on; they have proved, in ſhort, that the Palmyrenes were at the height of their proſperity, when, become a barrier between the Romans and the Parthians, they were politic enough to maintain a neutrality in their diſputes, and to render the luxury of thoſe powerful empires ſubſervient to their own opulence.

Palmyra was at all times a natural emporium for the merchandize coming from India by the Perſian Gulph, which, from thence by way of the Euphrates or the Deſert, was conveyed into Phœnicia, and Aſia minor, to diffuſe its varied luxuries among numerous nations with whom they were always in great requeſt. Such commerce muſt neceſſarily, in the moſt early ages, have cauſed this ſpot to be inhabited, and rendered it a place of importance, though at firſt of no great

celebrity. The two ſprings of freſh water (*r*) it poſſeſſes, were, above all, a powerful inducement in a Deſert every where elſe ſo parched and barren. Theſe doubtleſs were the two principal motives which drew the attention of Solomon, and induced that commercial prince to carry his arms to a place ſo remote from the actual limits of Judea. "He built ſtrong walls there," ſays the hiſ- "torian Joſephus (*s*), to ſecure himſelf in "the poſſeſſion, and named it Tadmour, "which ſignifies the Place of Palm-trees." Hence it has been inferred that Solomon was its firſt founder; but we ſhould, from this paſſage, be rather led to conclude that it was already a place of known importance. The palm-trees he found there are not the trees of uninhabited countries. Prior to the days of Moſes, the journies of Abraham and Jacob, from Meſopotamia into Syria ſufficiently prove a communication between theſe countries, which muſt ſoon have made Palmyra

(*r*) Theſe waters are warm and ſulphureous, but the inhabitants who, excepting theſe ſprings, have none but what is brackiſh, find them very good, and they are at leaſt wholeſome.

(*s*) *Antiq. Jud.* lib. 8. c. 6.

flouriſh.

flouriſh. The cinnamon and pearls mentioned as found there in the time of the Hebrew legiſlator, demonſtrate a trade with India and the Perſian Gulph, which muſt have been carried on by the Euphrates and Palmyra. At this diſtance of time, when the greater part of monuments of theſe early ages have periſhed, we are liable to form very falſe opinions concerning the ſtate of theſe countries in thoſe remote times, and are the more eaſily deceived, as we admit as hiſtorical facts antecedent events, of an entirely different character. If we obſerve, however, that men in all ages are united by the ſame intereſts and the ſame deſires, we cannot help concluding, that a commercial intercourſe muſt early have taken place between one nation and another, and that this intercourſe muſt have been nearly the ſame with that of more modern times. Without therefore going higher than the reign of Solomon, the invaſion of Tadmour by that prince, is ſufficient alone to throw a great light on the hiſtory of this city. The king of Jeruſalem would never have carried his attention to ſo diſtant and detached a ſpot, without ſome powerful motive of intereſt, and this intereſt could be no other than that of

an extenſive commerce, of which this place was already the emporium. This commerce extended itſelf to India, and the Perſian Gulph was the principal point of union. Various facts concur in corroborating this laſt aſſertion; nay, neceſſarily force us to acknowledge the Perſian Gulph as the centre of the commerce of that *Ophir*, concerning which ſo many falſe hypotheſes have been framed. For, was it not in this Gulph that the Tyrians carried on a flouriſhing trade from the earlieſt ages, and are not the iſles of *Tyrus* and *Aradus* ſufficient proofs of the ſettlements they made there? If Solomon ſought the alliance of the Tyrians, if he ſtood in need of their pilots to guide his veſſels, muſt not the object of their voyage have been thoſe places which they already frequented, and to which they repaired from their port of *Phœnicum oppidum*, on the Red-ſea, and perhaps from *Tor*, in which name we may diſcover traces of that of their own city? Are not pearls, which were one of the principal articles of the commerce of Solomon, almoſt the excluſive produce of the coaſt of the Gulph, between the iſles of Tyrus and Aradus, (now called Barhain), and Cape Maſandoum?

Maſandoum? Have not peacocks, which were ſo much admired by the Jews, been always ſuppoſed natives of that province of Perſia which adjoins to the Gulph? Did they not procure their monkeys from Yemen, which was in their way, and where they ſtill abound? Was not Yemen the country of Saba, (or Sheba,) the queen of which brought frankincenſe and gold to the Jewiſh king? And is not the country of the Sabeans celebrated by Strabo for producing great quantities of gold? Ophir has been ſought for in India and in Africa; but is it not one of thoſe twelve Arabian diſtricts, or tribes mentioned in the genealogical annals of the Hebrews? And ought it not therefore to be looked for in the vicinity of the countries they inhabit, ſince this genealogical geography always obſerves a certain order of ſituation, whatever Bochart and Calmet may have ſaid to the contrary? In ſhort, do we not diſtinctly perceive the name of Ophir, in that of *Ofor*, a town of the diſtrict of Oman, on the pearl coaſt? There is no longer any gold in this country; but this is of no conſequence, ſince Strabo poſitively aſſerts, that in the time of

the Seleucidæ, the inhabitants of Gerrha, on the road to Babylon obtained conſiderable quantities from it. On weighing all theſe circumſtances, it muſt be admitted that the Perſian Gulph was the centre of the moſt extenſive commerce of the ancient eaſtern world, and that it was with a view of communicating with it by a ſhorter or more ſecure route, that Solomon turned his attention towards the Euphrates; and that, from the convenience of its ſituation, Palmyra muſt from that period have been a conſiderable city. We may even reaſonably conjecture, when we reflect on the revolutions of the following ages, that this commerce became a principal cauſe of thoſe various wars in Lower Aſia, for which the barren chronicles of thoſe early times aſſign no motives. If after the reign of Solomon, the Aſſyrians of Niniveh turned their ambitious views towards Chaldea, and the lower part of the Euphrates, it was with intention to approach that great ſource of opulence the Perſian Gulph. If Babylon, from being the vaſſal of Niniveh, in a ſhort time became her rival, and the ſeat of a new empire, it was becauſe her ſituation rendered her the

emporium

emporium of this lucrative trade; in ſhort, if the kings of this great city waged perpetual wars with Jeruſalem and Tyre, their object was not only to deſpoil thoſe cities of their riches, but to prevent their invading their trade by the way of the Red-ſea. An hiſtorian (*t*) who has informed us that Nabuchodonoſor, before he laid ſiege to Jeruſalem, took poſſeſſion of Tadmour, clearly indicates that the latter city acted in concert with the two neighbouring capitals. Their gradual decline became, under the Perſian empire, and the ſucceſſors of Alexander, the efficient cauſe of the ſudden greatneſs of Palmyra in the time of the Parthians and Romans; ſhe then enjoyed a long peace, for many centuries, which allowed her inhabitants to erect thoſe monuments of opulence whoſe ruins we ſtill admire; and they the more readily adopted this ſpecies of luxury, as the nature of the country permitted no other, and from the natural propenſity of merchants, in every nation, to diſplay their wealth in magnificent buildings. Odenatus and Zenobia carried this proſperity to its greateſt height; but by at-

(*t*) John of Antioch.

tempting to exceed its natural limits, they at once deſtroyed the equilibrium, and Palmyra, ſtripped by Aurelian of the power ſhe had acquired in Syria, was beſieged, taken, and ravaged by that emperor, and loſt in one day her liberty and ſecurity, which were the principal ſources of her grandeur. From that period, the perpetual wars of theſe countries, the devaſtations of conquerors, and the oppreſſions of deſpots, by impoveriſhing the people, have diminiſhed the commerce and deſtroyed the ſource which conveyed induſtry and opulence into the very heart of the Deſerts: the feeble channels that have ſurvived, proceeding from Aleppo and Damaſcus, ſerve only at this day to render her deſertion more ſenſible and more compleat.

Leaving theſe venerable ruins, and returning to the inhabited world, we firſt meet with Homs, the Emeſus of the Greeks, ſituated on the eaſtern bank of the Orontes: this place, which was formerly a ſtrong and populous city, is, at preſent, only a large ruinous town, containing not more than two thouſand inhabitants, partly Greeks, and partly Mahometans. An Aga reſides here, who

who holds, as a ſub-renter of the Pacha of Damaſcus, the whole country as far as Palmyra. The Pacha himſelf holds this farm as an appanage deriving immediately from the Sultan. Hama and Marra are held in the ſame manner. Theſe three farms pay four hundred purſes, or five hundred thouſand livres (above twenty thouſand pounds); but they produce nearly four times that ſum.

Two days journey below Homs, is Hama, celebrated in Syria for its water-works. The wheels are in fact the largeſt in this country, being thirty-two feet in diameter. Troughs are faſtened to the circumference, and ſo diſpoſed as to fall in the river, and when they reach the vertex of the wheel, diſcharge the water into a reſervoir, whence it is conveyed by conduits to the public and private baths. The town is ſituated in a narrow valley on the banks of the Orontes, contains about four thouſand inhabitants, and poſſeſſes ſome trade from its ſituation on the road from Aleppo to Tripoli. The ſoil, as throughout this whole diſtrict, is well adapted to wheat and cotton; but agriculture, expoſed to the rapine of the *Motſallam* and the Arabs, is in a very languiſhing condition. An Arab Shaik,

Shaik, named Mohammad-el-Korfan, is become ſo powerful of late years, as to impoſe arbitrary contributions on the country. He is ſuppoſed to be able to bring into the field thirty thouſand horſe-men.

Continuing to deſcend the Orontes, by an unfrequented route, we arrive at a marſhy country, where we meet with a place intereſting from the change of fortune it has undergone. This place, called Farmia, was formerly one of the moſt celebrated cities of Syria, under the name of Apamea. "It was there," ſays Strabo, "That the Seleucidæ, "had eſtabliſhed the ſchool and nurſery of "their cavalry." The ſoil of the neighbourhood, abounding in paſturage, fed no leſs than thirty thouſand mares, three hundred ſtallions, and five hundred elephants; inſtead of which the marſhes of *Famia* at preſent ſcarcely afford a few buffoloes and ſheep. To the veteran ſoldiers of Alexander, who here repoſed after their victories, have ſucceeded wretched peaſants, who live in perpetual dread of the oppreſſions of the Turks and the inroads of the Arabs. The ſame proſpect is repeated on every ſide throughout theſe diſtricts. Every town, every village is built of materials furniſhed

niſhed by ruins, and founded on the rubbiſh of ancient edifices. We continually meet with ſuch ruins, both on the deſert, and returning along this road, as far as the mountains of Damaſcus, and even as we paſs to the ſouthward of that city in the immenſe plains of the Hauran. The Pilgrims of Mecca, who traverſe the latter for five or ſix days journey, aſſure us they find, at every ſtep, the veſtiges of ancient habitations. They are, however, leſs remarkable in theſe plains, for want of durable materials. The ſoil is a fine mould without ſtones, and almoſt without even the ſmalleſt pebble. What is ſaid of its actual fertility, perfectly correſponds with the idea given of it in the Hebrew writings. Where-ever wheat is ſown, if the rains do not fail, it repays the cultivator with profuſion, and grows to the height of a man. The Pilgrims aſſert, alſo, that the inhabitants are ſtronger and taller than the reſt of the Syrians. They muſt differ from them likewiſe in other reſpects, on account of the climate, for this part of the country is ſo exceſſively hot and dry, as to reſemble Egypt more than Syria. In the deſart, as they have no running waters nor wood, they make their fires with

with dung, and build huts with pounded earth and ſtraw. They are very tawny; they pay a tribute to the Pacha of Damaſcus, but the greateſt part of their villages put themſelves under the protection of ſome Arab tribes; and when the Shaiks are prudent, the country proſpers, and enjoys ſecurity. The mountains, however, which border on theſe plains to the Weſt and North, are ſtill more ſecure, on which account a number of families of the Druzes and Maronites, wearied with the troubles in Lebanon, have of late years taken refuge there, and built, *dea*, (*u*) or villages, where they freely profeſs their religion, and have prieſts and chapels. An intelligent traveller would here, no doubt, be able to make various intereſting diſcoveries in antiquities and natural hiſtory; but no European has been hitherto known to have penetrated theſe receſſes.

As we approach the Jordan, the country becomes more hilly and better watered; the valley through which this river flows abounds, in general, in paſturage, eſpecially in the upper part of it. As for the river itſelf, it is very far from being of that importance which

(*u*) Hence the Spaniſh word, *aldea*.

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we are apt to aſſign to it. The Arabs, who are ignorant of the name of Jordan, call it *el-Sharia*. Its breadth, between the two principal lakes, in few places exceeds ſixty or eighty feet; but its depth is about ten or twelve. In winter it overflows its narrow channel, and, ſwelled by the rains, forms a ſheet of water ſometimes a quarter of a league broad. The time of its overflowing is generally in March, when the ſnows melt on the mountains of the Shaik: at which time, more than any other, its waters are troubled, and of a yellow hue, and its courſe impetuous. Its banks are covered with a thick foreſt of reeds, willows, and various ſhrubs, which ſerve as an aſylum for wild boars, ounces, jackals, hares, and different kinds of birds.

Croſſing the Jordan, half way between the two lakes, we enter a hilly country, anciently celebrated under the name of the kingdom of Samaria, but at preſent called the country of *Nablous*, its capital. This town, ſituated near to Sichem, and on the ruins of the Neapolis of the Greeks, is the reſidence of a Shaik, who farms the tribute, for which he is accountable to the Pacha of Damaſcus, when he makes his circuit. The ſtate of this

country is ſimilar to that of the Druzes, with this difference, that its inhabitants are ſuch zealous Mahometans as not willingly to ſuffer any Chriſtians among them. They are diſperſed in villages among the mountains; the ſoil of which is tolerably fertile, and produces a great deal of corn, cotton, olives, and ſome ſilks. Their diſtance from Damaſcus, and the difficulty of invading their country, by preſerving them to a certain degree from the oppreſſions of the government, enables them to live in more peace and happineſs, than is to be found elſewhere. They are at preſent even ſuppoſed the richeſt people in Syria; which advantage they owe to their political conduct during the late troubles in Galilee and Paleſtine; when the tranquillity in which they lived, induced many perſons of property to take refuge there. But, within the laſt four or five years, the ambition of certain Shaiks, encouraged by the Turks, has excited a ſpirit of faction and diſcord, the conſequences of which have been almoſt as miſchievous as the oppreſſions of the Pachas.

Two days journey to the ſouth of Nablous, following the courſe of the mountains, which at every ſtep become more barren and rocky,

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we arrive at a town, which, like many others already mentioned, preſents a ſtriking example of the viciſſitude of human affairs: when we behold its walls levelled, its ditches filled up, and all its buildings embarraſſed with ruins, we ſcarcely can believe we view that celebrated metropolis, which, formerly, withſtood the efforts of the moſt powerful empires, and, for a time, reſiſted the arms of Rome herſelf; though, by a whimſical change of fortune, its ruins now receive her homage and reverence; in a word, we with difficulty recognize *Jeruſalem*. Still more are we aſtoniſhed at its ancient greatneſs, when we conſider its ſituation, amid a rugged ſoil, deſtitute of water, and ſurrounded by dry channels of torrents, and ſteep heights. Remote from every great road, it ſeems neither to have been calculated for a conſiderable mart of commerce, nor the centre of a great conſumption. It overcame however every obſtacle, and may be adduced as a proof of what popular opinions may effect in the hands of an able Legiſlature, or when favoured by happy circumſtances. The ſame opinions ſtill preſerve to this city its feeble exiſtence. The renown of its miracles perpetuated in the

Eaſt, invites and retains a conſiderable number of inhabitants within its walls. Mahometans, Chriſtians, Jews, without diſtinction of ſects, all make it a point of religion to ſee, or to have ſeen, what they denominate the *noble* and *holy* city *(x)*. To judge from the reſpect the inhabitants profeſs for the ſacred places it contains, we ſhould be ready to imagine there is not in the world a more devout people; but this has not prevented them from acquiring, and well deſerving, the reputation of the vileſt people in Syria, without excepting thoſe even of Damaſcus. Their number is ſuppoſed to amount to twelve or fourteen thouſand.

Jeruſalem has from time to time had Governors of its own, with the title of Pachas; but it is in general, as at this day, a dependency of Damaſcus, from which it receives a *Motſallam*, or deputy Governor. This Motſallam farms it and receives the revenues ariſ-

(x) The Orientals never call Jeruſalem by any other name than *Elkods*, the *Holy*. Sometimes adding the Epithet *El Sherif*, the *noble*. This word *El-Kods* ſeems to me the etymological origin of all the *Caſius* of antiquity, which like Jeruſalem were *high places*, and had Temples, or *Holy-places* erected on them.

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ing from the Miri, the cuſtoms, and eſpecially from the follies of the chriſtian inhabitants. To conceive the nature of this laſt article, it muſt be underſtood, that the different communions of ſchiſmatic, and catholic Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Abyſſinians and Franks, mutually envying each other the poſſeſſion of the holy places, are continually endeavoring to outbid one another in the price they offer for them to the Turkiſh Governors. They are conſtantly aiming to obtain ſome privilege for themſelves, or to take it from their rivals: and each ſect is perpetually informing againſt the other for irregularities. Has a Church been clandeſtinely repaired; or a proceſſion extended beyond the uſual limits: has a Pilgrim entered by a different gate from that cuſtomary: all theſe are ſubjects of accuſation to the Government, which never fails to profit by them, by fines and extortions. Hence thoſe hatreds, and that eternal jangling, which prevail between the different convents; and the adherents of each communion. The Turks, to whom every diſpute produces money, are, as we may imagine, far from wiſhing to put an end to them. They all,

in whatever ſtation, derive ſome advantage from theſe quarrels; ſome ſell their protection, others their intereſt: hence a ſpirit of intrigue and cabal, which has diffuſed venality through every claſs; and hence perquiſites for the Motſallam, which annually amount to upwards of one hundred thouſand piaſters. Every Pilgrim pays him an entrance fee of ten piaſters, and another for an eſcort for the journey to the Jordan, without reckoning the fines impoſed in conſequence of the imprudencies committed by theſe ſtrangers during their ſtay. Each convent pays him ſo much for the privilege of proceſſions, and ſo much for all repairs they undertake, beſides preſents on the acceſſion of a new ſuperior, or a new Motſallam; not to mention private gratifications to obtain ſecret trifles they ſolicit; all which is carried to a great length among the Turks, who are as well verſed in the art of ſqueezing money as the moſt able law practitioners in Europe. Beſides all this, the Motſallam collects duties on the exportation of certain ſingular commodities from Jeruſalem, I mean *beads, relics, ſanctuaries, croſſes, paſſions, agnus-dei's, ſcapularies*, &c. of which near three hundred

cheſts are ſent off annually. The fabrication of theſe utenſils of piety procures ſubſiſtence for the greateſt part of the Chriſtian and Mahometan families of Jeruſalem and its neighbourhood; men, women, and children are employed in carving, and turning wood and coral, and in embroidering in ſilk, with pearls, and gold and ſilver thread. The convent of the Holy-land, alone, lays out annually to the amount of fifty thouſand piaſters in theſe wares, and thoſe of the Greeks, Armenians, and Copts, taken together, pay a ſtill larger ſum. This ſort of commerce is the more advantageous to the manufacturers, as their goods coſt them little beſide their labour; and the more lucrative for the ſellers, as the price is enhanced by ſuperſtition. Theſe commodities exported to Turkey, Italy, Portugal, and eſpecially to Spain, produce a return of conſiderable ſums, either in the form of alms or payments. To this the convents join another not leſs important article of traffic, *the viſits of the Pilgrims*. It is well known that at all times the devout curioſity of viſiting the *holy places*, has occaſioned Chriſtians of every country to reſort to Jeruſalem. There was even a time when the

miniſters of religion taught it was indiſpenſibly neceſſary to ſalvation, and this prious zeal pervading all Europe, gave riſe to the Cruſades. Since their unfortunate iſſue, the zeal of the Europeans cooling every day, the number of pilgrims has diminiſhed; and they are now reduced to a few Italian, Spaniſh, and German monks, but the caſe is different with the Orientals. Faithful to the ſpirit of paſt times, they continue to conſider the journey to Jeruſalem as a work of the greateſt merit; they are even ſcandalized at the relaxation of the Franks in this reſpect, and ſay, they have all become heretics or infidels. Their prieſts and monks, who find their advantage in this fervor, do not ceaſe to promote it. The Greeks, eſpecially, declare that *the pilgrimage enſures plenary indulgence, not only for the paſt, but even for the future; and that it abſolves not only from murther, inceſt, and pederaſty; but even from the neglect of faſting and the non-obſervance of feſtivals, which are far more heinous offences.* Such great encouragements are not without their effect; and every year a crowd of pilgrims, of both ſexes and all ages, ſet out from the Morea, the Archipelago, Conſtantinople,

ple, Anatolia, Armenia, Egypt, and Syria, the number of whom in 1784, amounted to two thouſand. The monks, who find, by their regiſters, that formerly ten or twelve thouſand annually made this pilgrimage, never ceaſe exclaiming that religion rapidly decays, and that the zeal of the faithful is nearly extinguiſhed. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that this zeal is rather expenſive, ſince the moſt moderate pilgrimage never coſts leſs than four thouſand livres, (one hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds), and ſome of them, by means of offerings, amount to fifty or ſixty thouſand, (twenty-five hundred pounds).

Yafa is the port where the pilgrims diſembark. They arrive in November, and repair without delay to Jeruſalem, where they remain until after the feſtival of Eaſter. They are lodged confuſedly, by whole families, in the cells of the convents of their reſpective communions; the monks take eſpecial care to tell them that this lodging is gratuitous; but it would be neither civil, nor very ſafe to depart without making an offering greatly exceeding the uſual price of apartments. Beſides this, it is impoſſible to diſ-

penſe with paying for maſſes, ſervices, exorciſms, &c. another conſiderable tribute. The gilgrim muſt alſo purchaſe crucifixes, beads, agnus-dei's, &c. On Palm-ſunday, they go to purify themſelves in the Jordan, an expedition which likewiſe requires a contribution. One year with another, it produces to the governor fifteen thouſand Turkiſh ſequins, or four thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven pounds (*y*), about one half of which is laid out in the expences of the eſcort, and the ſums demanded by the Arabs. The reader muſt conſult particular relations of this pilgrimage, to form an idea of the tumultuous march of this fanatic multitude into the plain of Jericho; the indecent and ſuperſtitious zeal with which they throw themſelves, men, women, and children, naked into the Jordan; the fatigue they undergo before they reach the borders of the Dead-ſea; the melancholy inſpired by the ſight of the gloomy rocks of that country, the moſt ſavage in nature; their return and viſitation of the holy places; and the ceremony *of the new*

(*y*) At the rate of ſix ſhillings and three-pence the ſequin.

*fire*,

*fire, which deſcends from heaven on the holy Saturday, brought by an angel.* The Orientals ſtill believe in this miracle, though the Franks acknowledge that the prieſts retire into the Sacriſty, and effect what is done by very natural means.

Eaſter over, each returns to his own country, proud of being able to rival the Mahometan in the title of Pilgrim (*z*); nay, many of them, in order to diſtinguiſh themſelves as ſuch, imprint on their hands, wriſts, or arms, figures of the croſs, or ſpear, with the cypher of Jeſus and Mary. This painful, and ſometimes dangerous, operation (*a*) is performed with needles, and the perforations filled with gunpowder, or powder of antimony, and is never to be effaced. The Mahometans have the ſame practice, which is alſo to be found among the Indians, and other ſavages, as it was likewiſe among ſeveral ancient nations with whom it had a connection with religion, which it ſtill retains

(*z*) The difference between them is, that thoſe of Mecca are called *Hadjes*, and thoſe of Jeruſalem *Mokodſi*, a name formed from that of the city, *El-Kods*.

(*a*) I have ſeen a pilgrim who had loſt an arm by it, the cubital nerve being wounded in the operation.

wherever it prevails. So much devotion does not however exempt theſe pilgrims from the proverbial cenſure thrown upon the Hadjes; ſince the Chriſtians ſay likewiſe: *beware of the pilgrims of Jeruſalem.*

We may well ſuppoſe that ſo great a multitude, reſiding at Jeruſalem for five or ſix months, muſt leave behind them conſiderable ſums; and reckoning only fifteen hundred perſons, at one hundred piſtoles each, we ſhall find they cannot expend leſs than a million and a half of livres, (ſixty two thouſand five hundred pounds). Part of this money is paid to the inhabitants and merchants for neceſſaries, and theſe loſe no opportunity of impoſing upon ſtrangers. Water in 1784, coſt twenty ſols (ten-pence) a ſack. Another part goes to the governor and his ſubalterns, and the remainder is the profit of the convents. Great complaints are made of the improper uſe the Schiſmatics make of this money, and their luxury is ſpoken of as a great ſcandal, their cells being ornamented with porcelain and tapeſtry, nay even with ſabres, kandjars and other weapons. The Armenians and the Franks are much more modeſt; with the former, who are poor, it is a virtue of neceſ-

ſity;

ſity; but with the latter, who are not ſo, it is prudence.

The convent of theſe Franks, called *Saint Stet*, is the principal religious houſe of all the Miſſions of the Holy Land which are in the Turkiſh empire. Of theſe they reckon ſeventeen, compoſed of Franciſcans of every nation, but who are commonly French, Italian, and Spaniſh. The general adminiſtration is entruſted to three individuals of theſe nations. But ſo that the ſuperior muſt be always a native ſubject of the Pope; the Agent, a ſubject of the Catholic king, and the Vicar, a ſubject of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. Eeah of theſe adminiſtrators has a key of the general treaſury, that the money may not be touched without common conſent. Each of them is aſſiſted by a ſecond, called a *Diſcreet:* theſe ſix and a Portugueſe Diſcreet, form together the *Directory*, or ſovereign Chapter, which governs the convent and the whole order. The firſt founders had formerly ſo balanced the powers of theſe adminiſtrators that it was impoſſible for the whole to be governed by the will of one; but as all governments are ſubject to revolutions, ſome circumſtances which happened

pened a few years ſince, have changed the nature of this. The following is a ſhort hiſtory of the tranſaction.

About twenty years ago, in conſequence of ſome irregularities incident to all great adminiſtrations, the convent of the Holy Land incurred a debt of ſix hundred purſes, or thirty-one thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds. This was daily encreaſing, the expenditure continuing to exceed the receipts. It would have been an eaſy matter to liquidate this at one ſtroke, as the treaſury of the holy ſepulchre poſſeſſes, in diamonds, and all ſorts of precious ſtones, in chalices, crucifixes, golden ciboires, (boxes containing the Hoſt,) and other preſents of Chriſtian princes, to the amount of upwards of a million of livres (above forty thouſand pounds) but beſides the averſion which the miniſters of temples have, at all times, to alienate ſacred things, it might be good policy in the preſent caſe, not to ſhew the Turks, nor even the Chriſtians, too great reſources. The ſituation was embarraſſing; and it became ſtill more ſo from the murmurs of the Spaniſh agent, who loudly complained of being alone obliged to ſuſtain the burthen of the debt, for, in fact, he it was who furniſhed the moſt

moſt conſiderable funds. Under theſe circumſtances, J. Ribadeira, who occupied this poſt, died, and chance beſtowed the ſucceſſion on a man, who ſtill more impatient than himſelf, determined at every hazard to apply a remedy; and he ſet about the execution of his project with the more zeal, as he promiſed himſelf private advantages in the meditated reform. He therefore prepared his plan; and addreſſing himſelf directly to the king of Spain, by means of his confeſſor, repreſented to him:

"That the zeal of the Chriſtian princes "having greatly cooled of late years, their "ancient largeſſes to the convent of the Holy "Land were conſiderably diminiſhed; that his "moſt Faithful Majeſty had retrenched more "than one half of the forty thouſand dol-"lars he was accuſtomed to beſtow; that "his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, thinking the "protection he granted ſufficient, ſcarce-"ly paid the three thouſand livres he had "promiſed; that Italy and Germany daily "became leſs liberal, and that his Catholic "Majeſty was the only ſovereign who con-"continued the benefactions of his predeceſ-"ſors." He alſo ſtated, on the other hand, that,

that, " the expences of the eſtabliſhment " not having ſuffered a proportionable di- " minution, a deficiency had been incurred, " which rendered it neceſſary to have re- " courſe to an annual loan, that by this " means a conſiderable debt was contracted, " which daily encreaſing, menaced the in- " ſtitution with final ruin; that among the " cauſes of this debt, the pilgrimage of the " monks who came to viſit the holy places " muſt be particularly taken into account, " that it was neceſſary to defray the expences " of their journey, their paſſage by ſea, their " tribute, and board by the convent for two " or three years, &c. That it ſo happened, " that the greateſt part of theſe monks came " from thoſe very ſtates which had with- " drawn their bounties; that is, from Por- " tugal, Germany, and Italy; that it ſeemed " unreaſonable for the king of Spain to pay " for thoſe who were not his ſubjects, and " that it was a ſtill greater abuſe to ſee the ad- " miniſtration of theſe funds entruſted to a " chapter, almoſt wholly compoſed of " foreigners. The petitioner, inſiſting on " this laſt article, prayed his Catholic ma- " jeſty to interpoſe in the reformation of the

" abuſes,

" abuſes, and to eſtabliſh new and more equi-
" table regulations, the plan of which he
" ſubmitted, &c."

Theſe repreſentations produced the deſired effect. The king of Spain firſt declared himſelf *Eſpecial Protector of the order of the Holy Land, in the Levant*; and then named the petitioner, *J. Juan Ribeira*, his *Royal Agent*; he gave him, in quality of this office, a ſeal, with the arms of Spain, and entruſted him with the ſole management of his *gifts*, without being accountable to any other than himſelf. From that moment, J. Juan Ribeira, become a plenipotentiary, ſignified to the Conſiſtory that henceforward he ſhould have a private treaſury, diſtinct from the common ſtock; that the latter ſhould continue, as heretofore, charged with the general expences, and that, in conſequence, all the contributions of the different nations ſhould be paid in there; but as that of Spain bore no proportion to the others, he ſhould apply no more than what was adequate to their reſpective contingents, retaining the ſurplus for his private treaſury; that the pilgrimages, henceforth, ſhould be at the expence of the nations from whence they came, except the ſubjects of France, the care

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of whom he took upon himſelf. By this regulation, the Pilgrimages, and the greateſt part of the general expences being limited, the diſburſements are more proportionable to the receipts, and they have begun to pay off the debt; but the monks do not view with a favourable eye the agent thus become independent; nor can they pardon him for concentring in himſelf almoſt as much wealth as is poſſeſſed by the whole order: for, in eight years, he has received four *conduits*, or *contributions* from Spain, eſtimated at eight hundred thouſand dollars. The money in which theſe contributions are paid, conſiſting in Spaniſh dollars, is uſually put on board a French ſhip which conveys it to Cyprus, under the care of two monks. From Cyprus, part of theſe dollars are ſent to Conſtantinople, where they are ſold to advantage, and converted into Turkiſh coin. The other part goes directly by the way of Yafa to Jeruſalem, where the inhabitants expect it with as much anxiety as the Spaniards look for the galleons. The agent pays a certain ſum into the general treaſury, and the remainder is at his diſpoſal. The uſes he makes of it, conſiſt, firſt, in a penſion of three thouſand livres to the French Vicar

Vicar and his *Diſcreet*, who, by this means, procure him a majority of ſuffrages. Secondly, in preſents to the governor, the Mufti, the Kadi, the Nakib, and other great officers, whoſe credit may be of uſe to him. He has likewiſe to ſupport the dignity of his office, which is by no means a trifling expence; for he has his private interpreters, like a conſul, his table and his Janiſaries; he alone, of all the Franks, mounts on horſeback in Jeruſalem, and is attended by a body of cavalry; in a word, he is, next to the Motſallam, the firſt perſon in the country, and treats with the powers of it, upon a footing of equality. We may ſuppoſe, however, that ſo much reſpect is not for nothing. A ſingle viſit to Djezzar for the church of Nazareth, coſt thirty thouſand Pataques, (above ſix thouſand five hundred and forty-two pounds). The Mahometans of Jeruſalem who wiſh to profit by his riches ſeek his friendſhip. The Chriſtians who ſolicit alms from him, dread even his indifference. Happy the family he ſelects for his favourites, and woe to the man who has the misfortune to diſpleaſe him; for his hatred can diſplay itſelf either by open or indirect means: a hint to the *Wali* enſures the baſtinado,

nado, without the victim knowing whence it proceeds. So much power made him disdain the customary protection of the ambassador of France, and nothing but such an affair as he had lately with the Pacha of Damascus, could have reminded him that this protection is more efficacious than twenty thousand sequins. His agents, proud of his protection, abuse their authority, like all subalterns. The Spanish monks of Yafa and Ramla, treat the Christians who depend on them with a rigour which is very far from evangelical: they excommunicate them in the open church, abusing them by name; they threaten the women who have been indiscreet in talking of them; and oblige them to do public penitence, with a taper in their hands; they deliver over the intractable to the Turks, and refuse every succour to their families: in short, they offend against the customs of the country, and all decorum, by visiting the wives of the Christians, who should only be seen by their very near relations, and by remaining with them, without witnesses, in their apartments, under pretence of confessing them. The Turks are not able to conceive so much liberty without

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an abuſe of it. The Chriſtians, who are of the ſame opinion, murmur at it, but do no more. Experience has taught them that the indignation of the RR. PP. (reverend fathers) is attended with dreadful conſequences. It is whiſpered, that, ſix or ſeven years ago, they procured an order from the Captain Pacha, to cut off the head of an inhabitant of Yafa who had given them ſome offence. Fortunately the Aga took upon himſelf to ſuſpend the execution, and to undeceive the Admiral; but their animoſity has never ceaſed to perſecute this man, by every kind of chicanery. Not long ago, they ſolicited the Engliſh ambaſſador, under whoſe protection he has placed himſelf, to ſurrender him to a puniſhment, which in fact was only an unjuſt revenge.

Let us now quit theſe details, which, however, very properly deſcribe the preſent ſituation of this country. When we leave Jeruſalem, we only find three places in this part of the pachalic which merit attention.

The firſt is *Raba*, the ancient Jericho, ſituated ſix leagues to the north-eaſt of Jeruſalem, in a plain ſix or ſeven leagues long, by three wide, around which are a number of

barren mountains, that render it extremely not. Here formerly was cultivated the balm of Mecca. From the deſcription of the Hadjes, this is a ſhrub, ſimilar to the pomegranate-tree, with leaves like thoſe of rue: it bears a pulpy nut, in which is contained a kernel that yields the reſinous juice which we call *balm* or *balſam*. At preſent there is not a plant of it remaining at Raha; but another ſpecies is to be found there, called *Zakkoun*, which produces a ſweet oil, alſo celebrated for healing wounds. This Zakkoun reſembles a plum-tree; it has thorns four inches long, with leaves like thoſe of the olive-tree, but narrower and greener, and prickly at the end; its fruits is a kind of acorn, without a calix, under the rind of which is a pulp, and then a nut, the kernel of which yields an oil that the Arabs ſell very dear: this is the ſole commerce of Raha, which is no more than a ruinous village.

The ſecond place deſerving notice, is *Bait-el-lahm*, or Bethlehem, ſo celebrated in the hiſtory of Chriſtianity. This village, ſituated two leagues ſouth-eaſt of Jeruſalem, is ſeated on an eminence, in a country full of hills and vallies,

vallies, and might be rendered very agreeable. The ſoil is the beſt in all theſe diſtricts; fruits, vines, olives, and ſeſamum ſucceed here extremely well; but, as is the caſe every where elſe, cultivation is wanting. They reckon about ſix hundred men in this village capable of bearing arms upon occaſion, and this often occurs, ſometimes to reſiſt the Pacha, ſometimes to make war with the adjoining villages, and ſometimes in conſequence of inteſtine diſſentions. Of theſe ſix hundred men, about one hundred are Latin Chriſtians, who have a Vicar dependent on the great convent of Jeruſalem. Formerly their whole trade conſiſted in the manufacture of beads; but the reverend fathers not being able to find a ſale for all they could furniſh, they have reſumed the cultivation of their lands. They make a white wine, which juſtifies the former celebrity of the wines of Judea, but it has the bad property of being very heady. The neceſſity of uniting for their common defence prevails over their religious differences, and makes the Chriſtians live here in tolerable harmony with the Mahometans, their fellow citizens. Both are of the

party *Yamani*, which, with its oppoſite called *Kaiſi*, divides all Paleſtine into two factions, perpetually at variance. The courage of theſe peaſants, which has been frequently tried, has rendered them formidable through all that country.

The third and laſt place of note is *Habroun*, or Hebron, ſeven leagues to the ſouth of Bethlehem; the Arabs have no other name for this village than *El-kalil* (*b*), the *well beloved*, which is the epithet they uſually apply to Abraham, whoſe Sepulchral grotto they ſtill ſhew. Habroun is ſeated at the foot of an eminence, on which are ſome wretched ruins, the miſſhapen remains of an ancient caſtle. The adjacent country is a ſort of oblong hollow, five or ſix leagues in length, and not diſagreeably varied by rocky hillocks, groves of fir-trees, ſtunted oaks, and a few plantations of vines and olive-trees. Theſe vineyards are not cultivated with a view to make wine, the inhabitants being ſuch zealous Mahometans as not to permit any Chriſtians to live among them: they are only of uſe to

(*b*) The *K* is here uſed for the Spaniſh *Ieta*.

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procure dried raiſins which are badly prepared, though the grapes are of an excellent kind. The peaſants cultivate cotton, likewiſe, which is ſpun by their wives, and ſold at Jeruſalem and Gaza. They have alſo ſome ſoap manufactories, the Kali for which is ſold them by the Bedouins, and a very ancient glaſs-houſe, the only one in Syria. They make there a great quantity of coloured rings, bracelets for the wriſts and legs, and for the arms above the elbows (*c*), beſides a variety of other trinkets, which are ſent even to Conſtantinople. In conſequence of theſe manufactures, Habroun is the moſt powerful village in all this quarter, and is able to arm eight or nine hundred men, who adhere to the faction Kaiſi, and are the perpetual enemies of the people of Bethlehem. This diſcord, which has prevailed throughout the country,

(*c*) Theſe rings are ofen more than an inch in diameter; they are paſſed on the arms of children, and it often happens, as I have frequently ſeen, that the arm growing bigger than the ring, a ridge of fleſh is formed above and below, ſo that the ring, is buried in a deep hollow and cannot be got off, and this is conſidered as a beauty.

from the earlieſt times of the Arabs cauſes a perpetual civil war. The peaſants are inceſſantly making inroads on each other's lands, deſtroying their corn, dourra, ſeſamum, and olive-trees, and carrying off their ſheep, goats, and camels. The Turks, who are every where negligent in repreſſing ſimilar diſcorders, are the leſs attentive to them here, ſince their authority is very precarious; the Bedouins, whoſe camps occupy the level country, are continually at open hoſtilities with them, of which the peaſants avail themſelves to reſiſt their authority, or do miſchief to each other, according to the blind caprice of their ignorance, or the intereſt of the moment. Hence ariſes an anarchy, which is ſtill more dreadful than the deſpotiſm which prevails elſewhere, while the mutual devaſtations of the contending parties render the appearance of this part of Syria more wretched than that of any other.

Proceeding from Hebron towards the weſt, we arrive, after five hours journey, at ſome eminences, which, on this ſide, form the laſt branch of the mountains of Judea. There the traveller, wearied with the rugged coun-

try

try he has quitted, views with pleaſure the vaſt plain which extends beneath his feet, to the ſea that lies before him. This is the plain which, under the name of *Falaſtin*, or Paleſtine, terminates, on this ſide, the country of Syria, and forms the laſt diviſion concerning which it remains for me to ſpeak.

## CHAP. XXXI.

### *Of Paleſtine.*

PALESTINE, in its preſent ſtate, comprehends the whole country included between the Mediterranean to the weſt, the chain of mountains to the eaſt, and two lines, one drawn to the ſouth, by Kan Younes, and the other to the north, between Kaiſaria and the rivulet of Yafa. This whole tract is almoſt entirely a level plain, without either river or rivulet in ſummer, but watered by ſeveral torrents in winter. Notwithſtanding this dryneſs the ſoil is good, and may even be termed fertile, for when the winter rains do not fail, every thing ſprings up in abundance; and the earth, which is black and fat, retains moiſture ſufficient for the growth of grain and vegetables during the ſummer. More dourra ſeſamum, water-melons, and beans, are ſown here than in any other part of the country. They alſo raiſe cotton, barley, and wheat; but though the latter be moſt eſteemed, it is leſs cultivated, for fear of too much inviting the avarice of the Turkiſh Governors, and the

rapacity of the Arabs. This country is indeed more frequently plundered than any other in Syria, for being very proper for cavalry, and adjacent to the Deſert, it lies open to the Arabs, who are far from ſatisfied with the mountains: they have long diſputed it with every power eſtabliſhed in it, and have ſucceeded ſo far as to obtain the conceſſion of certain places, on paying a tribute, from whence they infeſt the roads, ſo as to render it unſafe to travel from Gaza to Acre. They might even have obtained the entire poſſeſſion of it, had they known how to avail themſelves of their ſtrength; but, divided among themſelves by jarring intereſts, and family quarrels, they turn thoſe weapons on each other which they ſhould employ againſt the common enemy, and are at once enfeebled by their diſregard of all good order and government, and impoveriſhed by their ſpirit of rapacity.

Paleſtine, as I have ſaid, is a diſtrict independent of every Pachalic. Sometimes it has Governors of its own, who reſide at Gaza under the title of Pachas; but it is uſually, as at preſent, divided into three appanages, or *Melkana*, viz. Yafa, Loudd, and Gaza.

The

The former belongs to the *Walda*, or Sultana Mother. The Captain Pacha has received the two others as a recompence for his ſervices, and a reward for the head of Daher. He farms them to an Aga, who reſides at Ramla, and pays him two hundred and fifteen purſes for them, viz. one hundred and eighty for Gaza and Ramla, and thirty-five for Loudd.

Yafa is held by another Aga, who pays one hundred and twenty purſes to the Sultana. For this he receives the whole miri and poll-tax of the town, and ſome adjacent villages; but the chief part of his revenue ariſes from the cuſtom-houſe, as he receives all the duties on imports and exports. Theſe are pretty conſiderable, ſince Yafa is the port at which the rice ſent from Damietta to Jeruſalem, the merchandiſe for a ſmall French factory at Ramla, and the commodities from the various ports on the coaſt of Syria are landed. Here alſo the pilgrims from the Morea and Conſtantinople arrive; and here the ſpun cottons of Paleſtine, and other articles of trade, conveyed, by ſea, along the coaſt, are ſhipped. The forces this Aga maintains, are only thirty muſketeers, horſe and foot, who ſcarcely ſuffice

as

as a guard to two wretched gates, and to keep off the Arabs.

As a ſea-port, or place of ſtrength, Yafa is not to be mentioned; but it is capable of becoming one of the moſt important on the coaſt, on account of two ſprings of freſh water which are within its walls, on the ſea ſhore. Theſe ſprings enabled it to make the obſtinate reſiſtance it did in the late wars. The port, which is formed by a pier, and at preſent choaked up, might be cleared out, and made to contain twenty veſſels of three hundred tons burthen each. At preſent ſhips are obliged to caſt anchor out at ſea, at near a league's diſtance from the ſhore; where they are by no means ſafe, the bottom being a bank of rock and coral, which extends as far as Gaza.

Before the two late ſieges, this was one of the moſt agreeable towns on the coaſt. Its environs were one continued foreſt of orange and lemon trees, citrons and palms, which here firſt begin to bear good fruit *(d)*. The country beyond abounded in olive-trees, as

(*d*) We meet with ſome after having paſſed Acre, but their fruit ripens with difficulty.

large

large as walnut trees; but the Mamlouks having cut them all down for the pleaſure they take in deſtroying, or to make fires, Yafa has loſt its greateſt convenience and ornament; fortunately it was impoſſible to deprive it of the rivulets that water its gardens, and nouriſh the young ſuckers, which have already begun to ſhoot.

Three leagues to the eaſt of Yafa is the village of *Loudd*, the ancient *Lydda*, and *Dioſpolis*. A place lately ravaged by fire and ſword would have preciſely the appearance of this village. From the huts of the inhabitants to the Serai, or palace of the Aga, is one vaſt heap of rubbiſh and ruins. A weekly market, however, is held at Loudd, to which the peaſants of the environs bring their ſpun cotton for ſale. The poor Chriſtians who dwell here, ſhew, with great veneration, the ruins of the church of St. Peter, and make ſtrangers ſit down on a column, which, as they ſay, that Saint once reſted on. They point out the place where he preached, where he prayed, &c. The whole country is full of ſuch traditions. It is impoſſible to ſtir a ſtep without being ſhewn the traces of ſome apoſtle, ſome martyr, or ſome virgin; but what

what credit can be due to theſe traditions, when experience proves that the hiſtory of Ali Bey and Daher is already diſputed and uncertain ?

One third of a league to the ſouthward of Loudd, along a road lined with nopals, ſtands Ramla, the ancient Arimathea. This town is almoſt in as ruinous a ſtate as Loudd itſelf. We meet with nothing but rubbiſh within its boundaries; the Aga of Gaza reſides here in a Serai, the floors and walls of which are tumbling down. "Why," ſaid I, one day, to one of his Sub-Agas, "does he not at leaſt "repair his own apartment?" Yes," re-replied he, "but if another ſhould next year "obtain his place, who would repay him "the expence ?"

He maintains about one hundred horſemen, and as many Barbary ſoldiers, who are lodged in an old Chriſtian church, the nave of which is uſed as a ſtable, and in an ancient kan, which is diſputed with them by the ſcorpions. The adjacent country is planted with lofty olive trees, diſpoſed in quincunces. The greateſt part of them are as large as the walnut trees of France ; but they are daily periſhing through age, the ravages of contending

tending factions, and even from ſecret miſchief; for, in theſe countries, when a peaſant would revenge himſelf of his enemy, he comes by night, and ſaws or cuts his trees cloſe to the ground, and the wound, which he takes care to cover, draining off the ſap like an iſſue, the olive tree languiſhes and dies. Amidſt theſe plantations, we meet, at every ſtep, with dry wells, ciſterns fallen in, and vaſt vaulted reſervoirs, which prove that, in ancient times, this town muſt have been upwards of a league and a half in circumference. At preſent it ſcarcely contains two hundred families. The little land which is cultivated, by a few of them, is the property of the Mufti, and two or three perſons related to him. The reſt content themſelves with ſpinning cotton, which is chiefly purchaſed by two French houſes eſtabliſhed there. They are the laſt in this part of Syria, there being none either at Jeruſalem or Yafa. At Ramla there is alſo a ſoap manufactory, which is almoſt all ſent into Egypt. I muſt not forget to mention that the Aga built here, in 1784, the only windmill I have ſeen in Syria or Egypt, though they are ſaid to have been originally invented in theſe countries. It was completed

completed after the plan, and under the direction of a Venetian carpenter.

The only remarkable antiquity at Ramla is the minaret of a ruined moſque on the road to Yafa. By an Arabic inſcription it appears to have been built by Saif-el-din, Sultan of Egypt. From the ſummit, which is very lofty, the eye follows the whole chain of mountains, which begins at Nablous, and ſkirting the plain, loſes itſelf toward the ſouth. In this plain, between Ramla and Gaza, we meet with a number of villages, badly built, of dried mud, and which, like their inhabitants, exhibit every mark of poverty and wretchedneſs. The houſes, on a nearer view, are only ſo many huts, ſometimes detached, and ſometimes ranged in the form of cells around a court-yard, incloſed by a mud wall. The women have there, as elſewhere, ſeparate apartments. In winter, they and their cattle may be ſaid to live together, the part of the dwelling allotted to themſelves being only raiſed two feet above that in which they lodge their beaſts. The peaſants are by this means kept warm, without burning wood; and œconomy indiſpenſible in a country abſolutely deſtitute of fuel.

As

As for the fire neceſſary for culinary purpoſes, they make it of dung kneaded into cakes, which they dry in the ſun, expoſing them to its rays on the walls of their huts. In ſummer their lodging is more airy, but all their furniture conſiſt in a ſingle mat, and a pitcher for drinking. The environs of theſe villages are ſown at, the proper ſeaſon, with grain, and water melons; all the reſt is a deſert, and abandoned to the Bedouin Arabs, who feed their flocks on it. At every ſtep we meet with ruins of towers, dungeons, and caſtles with foſſés, and ſometimes a garriſon, conſiſting of the lieutenant of an Aga, and two or three Barbary ſoldiers, with nothing but a ſhirt and a muſket; but more frequently they are inhabited by jackals, owls and ſcorpions.

Among the inhabited places one of the principal is the village of Meſmia, four leagues from Ramla, on the road to Gaza, which furniſhes a great deal of ſpun cotton. At the diſtance of a ſhort league to the eaſt, is a detached eminence, called for that reaſon *El-Tell*. It is the capital of the tribe of Wahidia, one of the Shaiks of which, named Bakir, was aſſaſſinated three years ago by the Aga

Aga of Gaz, at an entertainment to which he had invited him. On this hill are found many remains of habitations and caverns, ſuch as are to be met with in the fortifications of the middle ages. This muſt have been at all times a favourite ſituation, from its ſteepneſs, and the ſpring which is at the bottom. The channel through which it flows, is the ſame that loſes itſelf near Aſkalon (Aſcalon.) To the eaſt, the ſoil is rocky, but covered with ſcattered firs, olives, and other trees. Bait-djibrim, the Betha-Gabris of Antiquity is an inhabited village not quite three quarters of a league to the ſouthward. Seven hours journey from thence, toward the ſouth-weſt is another village of the Bedouins, called the Heſi, which has in its neighbourhood an artificial ſquare hill, above ſeventy feet high, one hundred and fifty wide, and two hundred long. The whole aſcent to it has been paved, and on its ſummit we ſtill find the remains of a very ſtrong citadel.

As we approach the ſea, three leagues from Ramla, on the road to Gaza, is Yabna, the ancient Jamnia. This village has nothing remarkable, but a factitious eminence like that of Heſi, and a rivulet, the only one in theſe diſtricts

which does not dry up in ſummer. Its whole courſe is not more than a league and a half. Before it reaches the ſea, it forms a moraſs called Roubin, where the country people had begun a plantation of ſugar canes, which made the moſt promiſing appearance; but, after the ſecond crop, the Aga demanded a contribution, which compelled them to deſert it.

Leaving Yabna, we meet ſucceſſively with various ruins, the moſt conſiderable of which are at Ezdoud, the ancient Azotus, famous at preſent for its ſcorpions. This town, ſo powerful under the Philiſtines, affords no proofs of its ancient importance. Three leagues from Ezdoud is the village of El-Majdal, where they ſpin the fineſt cottons in Paleſtine, which, however, are very coarſe. On the right is Azkalan, whoſe deſerted ruins are every day removing farther from the ſea, by which it formerly was waſhed. This whole coaſt is daily accumulating ſands, inſomuch, that many places which it is known anciently were ſea ports, are now four or five hundred paces within land; of this Gaza is an example.

Gaza, called by the Arabs *Razza*, with a ſtrong guttural pronunciation of the *r*, is compoſed

compoſed of three villages, one of which, under the name of *the Caſtle*, is ſituated between the two others, on an inconſiderable eminence. This caſtle, which might have been ſtrong for the time in which it was built, is now nothing but a heap of rubbiſh. The Serai of the Aga, which makes a part of it, is in as ruinous a ſtate as that of Ramla; but it has the advantage of a moſt extenſive proſpect. From its walls, we view at once the ſea, from which it is ſeparated by a ſandy beach, a quarter of a league wide, and the country, whoſe date trees, and flat and marked aſpect, as far as the eye can diſcern, reminds us of Egypt; and, in fact, in this latitude, the ſoil and climate both appear to be truly Arabian. The heats, the drought, the winds and the dews, are the ſame as on the banks of the Nile; and the inhabitants have the complexion, ſtature, manners, and accent of the Egyptians, rather than thoſe of the Syrians.

The ſituation of Gaza, by fitting it for the medium of communication between theſe two nations, has rendered it at all times a town of ſome importance. The ruins of white marble ſometimes found there, prove it was for-

merly the abode of luxury and opulence; nor was it unworthy of this preference. The black ſoil of the ſurrounding country is extremely fertile, and the gardens, watered by limpid ſtreams, ſtill produce, without art, pomegranates, oranges, exquiſite dates, and ranunculus roots in great requeſt, even at Conſtantinople. It has, however, ſhared in the general deſtruction; and, notwithſtanding its proud title of the capital of Paleſtine, it is no more than a defenceleſs village, peopled by at moſt only two thouſand inhabitants. The manufacture of cottons is their principal ſupport; and, as they have the excluſive ſupply of the peaſants and Bedouins of the neighbourhood, they may keep going about five hundred looms. There are likewiſe two or three ſoap manufactories. The article of aſhes, or *kalis*, was formerly a conſiderable commerce. The Bedouins, who procured theſe aſhes, by ſimply burning the plants of the deſert, ſold them at a reaſonable rate; but ſince the Aga has monopolized this commodity, the Arabs, compelled to part with it at his price, are no longer anxious to collect it; and the inhabitants, conſtrained to purchaſe at his pleaſure, neglect making ſoap.

Theſe

Theſe aſhes, however, are an object worthy of attention, from the quantity of alkali they contain.

A branch of commerce more advantageous to the people of Gaza, is furniſhed by the caravans which paſs and repaſs between Egypt and Syria. The proviſions they are obliged to take for their four days journey in the deſert produce a conſiderable demand for their flour, oils, dates, and other neceſſaries. Sometimes they correſpond with Suez, on the arrival or departure of the Dejedda fleet, as they are able to reach that place in three long days journey. They fit out, likewiſe, every year, a great caravan, which goes to meet the pilgrims of Mecca, and conveys to them the convoy or *Dejerda* of Paleſtine, and ſupplies of various kinds, with different refreſhments. They meet them at Maon, four days journey to the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt of Gaza, and one day's journey to the north of Akaba, on the road to Damaſcus. They alſo purchaſe the plunder of the Bedouins; an article which would be a Peru to them, were theſe accidents more frequent. It is impoſſible to aſcertain the profits they made by the plunder of the great caravan in 1757. Two

thirds of upwards of twenty thouſand camel loads, of which the Hadj, or caravan of pilgrims, was compoſed, were brought to Gaza. The ignorant and famiſhed Bedouins, who know no value in the fineſt ſtuffs, but as they ſerve to cover them, ſold their caſhmire, ſhawls, callicoes, muſlins, firſakes, Perſian ſtuffs, coffee and gums, for a few piaſtres. We may judge from the following ſtory, of the ignorance and ſimplicity of theſe inhabitants of the deſerts. A Bedouin of Anaza having found, amongſt his booty, ſeveral bags of fine pearls, took them for doura, and had them boiled to eat them; but ſeeing that they did not ſoften, was on the point of throwing them away, when an inhabitant of Gaza gave him in exchange for them a red bonnet of Faz. A ſimilar incident happened in 1779, at the time of the pillage of the caravan which M. de St. Germain accompanied; and but the other day, in 1784, the caravan of Barbary, conſiſting of upwards of three thouſand camels, was likewiſe pillaged, and the quantity of coffee diſperſed by the Bedouins throughout Paleſtine, was ſo great, as to cauſe the price of that article to fall ſuddenly to one half of what it was before; and it would

would have fallen ſtill more, had not the Aga prohibited the ſale of it, in order to compel the Bedouins to deliver it all into his hands. A monopoly of this ſort in the affair of 1779, produced him more than eighty thouſand piaſtres. Adding theſe caſualties to his other extortions, to the miri, the cuſtoms, the twelve hundred camel loads, which he purloins from the three thouſand he ſhould furniſh for the Mecca convoy, he raiſes, one year with another, a revenue of full double the hundred and eighty purſes he pays for his farm.

Beyond Gaza there are only deſerts. It muſt not, however, be underſtood, that the country becomes ſuddenly uninhabitable; we ſtill continue, for a day's journey, along the ſea coaſt, to meet with ſome cultivated ſpots and villages. Such is Kan-younes, a ſort of caſtle, in which the Mamlouks keep a garriſon of twelve men. Such alſo is El-Ariſh, the laſt place where water, which can be drank, is to be found, until you arrive at Salahia in Egypt. El-Ariſh is three quarters of a league from the ſea, in a ſandy country, as is all that coaſt. Returning to the deſert, by the eaſt, we meet with other ſtrips of cultivable

land, as far as the road to Mecca. Theſe are little vallies, where a few peaſants have been tempted to ſettle by the waters, which collect at the time of the winter rains, and by ſome wells. They cultivate palm-trees and doura, under the protection, or rather expoſed to the rapine, of the Arabs. Theſe peaſants, ſeparated from the reſt of mankind, are half ſavages, and more ignorant and wretched than the Bedouins themſelves. Incapable of leaving the ſoil they cultivate, they live in perpetual dread of loſing the fruit of their labours. No ſooner have they gathered in their harveſt, than they haſten to ſecret it in private places, and retire among the rocks which border on the Dead Sea. This country has not been viſited by any traveller, but it well merits ſuch an attention; for, from the reports of the Arabs of Bakir, and the inhabitants of Gaza, who frequently go to Maan, and Karak, on the road of the pilgrims, there is, to the ſouth-eaſt of the lake Aſphaltites, within three days journey, upwards of thirty ruined towns, abſolutely deſerted. Several of them have large edifices with columns which may have belonged to ancient temples, or at leaſt to Greek churches.

Thr

The Arabs ſometimes make uſe of them to fold their cattle in; but in general avoid them, on account of the enormous ſcorpions with which they ſwarm. We cannot be ſurpriſed at theſe traces of ancient population, when we recollect that this was the country of the Nabatheans, the moſt powerful of the Arabs; and of the Idumeans, who, at the time of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, were almoſt as numerous as the Jews, as appears from Joſephus, who informs us, that on the firſt rumour of the march of Titus againſt Jeruſalem, thirty thouſand Idumeans inſtantly aſſembled, and threw themſelves into that city for its defence. It appears that, beſides the advantage of being under a tolerably good government, theſe diſtricts enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of the commerce of Arabia and India, which increaſed their induſtry and population. We know that, as far back as the time of Solomon, the cities of *Atſioum-Gaber* (Eſion-Geber), and *Ailah* (Eloth) were highly frequented marts. Theſe towns were ſituated on the adjacent gulph of the Red Sea, where we ſtill find the latter yet retaining its name, and perhaps the former in that of *El-Akaba*, or the End (of the Sea).

Theſe

Theſe two places are in the poſſeſſion of the Bedouins, but as they have no ſhipping, and carry on no kind of commerce, they do not inhabit them. The pilgrims of Cairo however report that there is at El-Akaba a wretched fort, with a Turkiſh garriſon, and good water; an advantage truly valuable in theſe countries. The Idumeans, from whom the Jews only took their ports at intervals, muſt have found in them a great ſource of wealth and population. It even appears, that they rivalled the Tyrians, who alſo poſſeſſed a town, the name of which is unknown, on the coaſt of Hedjaz, in the deſert of Tih, and the city of Faran, and without doubt El-Tor, which ſerved it by way of port. From this place the caravans might reach Paleſtine and Judea in eight or ten days. This route, which is longer than that from Suez to Cairo, is infinitely ſhorter than that from Aleppo to Baſſora, which requires five and thirty or forty days, and poſſibly in the preſent ſtate of things would be the beſt, if the paſſage by Egypt ſhould remain entirely ſhut up. Nothing more would be neceſſary, than to make an agreement with the Arabs, treaties with whom are infinitely more ſecure than with the Mamlouks.

The

The desert of Tih, which I have just mentioned, is that into which Moses conducted the Jews, and kept them for a whole generation, to initiate them in the art of war, and transform a multitude of shepherds into a nation of conquerors. The name *El-Tih* seems to have a reference to their history, as it signifies the Country of Wandering; but we must not imagine this to be in consequence of tradition, since the present inhabitants are foreigners, and men in all countries find it difficult to recur even to their grandfathers; the name of El-tih has been given to this tract by the Arabs from reading the Hebrew books and the Koran; they also call it *Barr-el-tour-Sina*, or Country of Mount-Sinai.

This desert, which is the boundary of Syria to the south, extends itself in the form of a peninsula between the two gulphs of the Red Sea; that of Suez to the west, and that of El-Akaba to the east. Its breadth is ordinarily thirty leagues, and its length seventy. This great space is almost entirely filled by barren mountains which join those of Syria, on the north, and, like them, consist almost wholly of calcareous stone: but as we advance to the southward, they

they become granitous, and Sinai and Horeb are only enormous maſſes of that ſtone. Hence it was the ancients called this country *Arabia Petrea*. The ſoil in general is a dry gravel, producing nothing but thorny acacias, tamariſks, firs, and a few ſcattered ſhrubs. Springs are very rare, and the few we meet with are ſometimes ſulphureous and thermal, as at Hammam-Faraoun, at others brackiſh and diſagreeable, as at El Naba oppoſite Suez; this ſaline quality prevails throughout the country, and there are mines of foſſil ſalt in the northern parts. In ſome of the vallies, however, the ſoil becoming better, as it is formed of the earth waſhed from the rocks, is cultivable after the winter rains, and may almoſt be ſtiled fertile. Such is the vale of Djirandel, in which there are even groves of trees. Such alſo is the vale of Faran, where the Bedouins ſay there are ruins, which can be no other than thoſe of the ancient city of that name. In former times every advantage was made of this country that could be obtained from it (*e*), but at preſent,

(*e*) M. Niebuhr diſcovered, on a mountain, ſome tombs with hieroglyphics, which may induce us to believe the Egyptians had made ſettlements in theſe countries.

abandoned

abandoned to nature, or rather to barbariſm, it produces nothing but wild herbs. Yet, with ſuch ſcanty proviſion, this Deſert ſubſiſts three tribes of Bedouins, conſiſting of about five or ſix thouſand Arabs, diſperſed in various parts. They are called by the general name of *Tawara*, or Arabs of Tor, the beſt known and moſt frequented place in the country. It is ſituated on the eaſtern ſide of the branch of Suez, in a ſandy and low ground, as is all this coaſt. Its whole merit conſiſts in a pretty good road for ſhipping, and water which may be drank; the Arabs alſo bring ſome thither from Sinai, which is really good. The ſhips of Suez lay in their proviſions here when they ſail to Djedda. There is nothing further to notice except that we find here a few palm-trees, the ruins of a wretched fort without a garriſon, a ſmall Greek convent, and ſome huts of poor Arabs, who live on fiſh, and ſerve as ſailors for wages. There are alſo, to the ſouthward, two ſmall villages of Greeks, who are equally poor and miſerable. As for the ſubſiſtence of the three tribes, it is derived from their goats, camels, ſome acacia gums ſold in Egypt,

Egypt, and their robberies on the roads of Suez, Gaza, and Mecca.

Theſe Arabs have no mares, like the other tribes, or at leaſt they bring up very few; but they ſupply the want of them by a ſort of camel, which they call *Hedjina*. This animal is of the ſame ſhape with the common camel, with this difference, that he is made much more ſlender, and moves quicker. The ordinary camel only goes a foot pace, and meaſures his ſteps ſo ſlowly, that he hardly advances thirty-ſix hundred yards an hour; the Hedjina, on the contrary, trots at pleaſure, and, from the length of his paces, eaſily goes two leagues an hour. The great advantage of this animal is to be able to continue this pace thirty or forty hours ſucceſſively, almoſt without reſt, and without eating or drinking: he is made uſe of by couriers, and for long journeys which require expedition; if he has once got the ſtart by four hours, the ſwifteſt Arabian mare never can overtake him; but one muſt be accuſtomed to his pace, otherwiſe his jolting motion ſoon flays the ſkin and diſables the beſt rider, in ſpite of the cuſhions with which they

they ſtuff the ſaddle. All that we have heard of the ſwiftneſs of the Dromedary, may be applied to this animal. He has however only one bunch; nor do I recollect, out of five and twenty of thirty thouſand camels, I may have ſeen in Syria and Egypt, ever to have obſerved a ſingle one with two.

But the moſt conſiderable profits of the Bedouins of Tor ariſe from the pilgrimage of the Greeks to the convent of Mount Sinai. The ſchiſmatics have ſo much faith in the relics of ſaint Catherine, which they ſay are depoſited there, that they doubt of their ſalvation if they have not viſited them at leaſt once in their lives. They repair thither even as far as from the Morea, and Conſtantinople. The rendezvous is at Cairo, where the monks of Mount Sinai have correſpondents who treat with the Arabs for a convoy. The ordinary price is twenty-eight pataques, (ſix pounds two and ſix-pence) each paſſenger, excluſive of proviſions. On their arrival at the convent, the Greeks perform their devotions, viſit the church, kiſs the relics and images, mount on their knees more than one hundred ſteps of the hill of Moſes, and conclude by making an offering, the value of which

which is not fixed, but rarely amounts to leſs than fifty pataques (*f*).

Except at the time of theſe viſitations, which only are made once a year, this convent is the moſt deſert and ſavage abode in nature. The adjacent country is nothing but a pile of rugged and naked rocks. Mount Sinai, at the foot of which it is ſeated, is a peak of granite which ſeems to overwhelm it. The houſe is a ſort of ſquare priſon, whoſe lofty walls have only one window, which, though very high up, ſerves likewiſe by way of door; for, to enter this convent, you muſt get into a baſket, which the monks leave ſuſpended at the window, and occaſionally hoiſt up with ropes. This precaution ariſes from their fear of the Arabs, who might force the convent if the uſual entrance was by a door: they never open the

(*f*) To theſe pilgrims we muſt attribute the inſcriptions and clumſy figures of aſſes, camels, &c. engraven on theſe rocks, which have from thence acquired the name of *Djebel Mokaitab*, or written Mountain. *Mr. Worthy Montague*, who travelled a great deal in theſe countries, and carefully examined theſe inſcriptions, is of this opinion, *M. Cour de Gebelin*, author of *Le Monde Primitif*, has loſt his labour, in endeavouring to diſcover ſome myſterious meaning.

only one there is, except on a viſit from the biſhop, at all other times it is kept cloſely ſhut. This viſitation ſhould take place every two or three years; but as it neceſſarily occaſions a conſiderable contribution for the Arabs, the monks evade it as much as poſſible. They do not, however, ſo eaſily eſcape the daily diſtribution of a certain quantity of proviſions; and the quarrels which ariſe, on this ſubject, frequently draw on them a ſhower of ſtones, and even muſket-ſhot from the diſcontented Bedouins. They never ſtir into the country, but, by dint of labour, have made a garden, on the rocks, with earth they have brought thither, which ſerves them to walk in. They cultivate excellent fruit there, ſuch as grapes, figs, and eſpecially pears, of which they make preſents, and which are highly eſteemed at Cairo, where they have no ſuch fruit. Their domeſtic life is the ſame with that of the Greeks and Maronites of Lebanon, that is, it is entirely devoted to uſeful works, or to religious duties. But the Monks of Lebanon enjoy the ineſtimable advantage of liberty and ſecurity, which is not poſſeſſed by thoſe of Sinai. In other reſpects, this confined and melancholy ſtate

of exiſtence is that of all the monks, in the Turkiſh empire. Thus live the Greeks of Mar-Simeon to the north of Aleppo, and of Mar-Saba on the Dead-ſea; this alſo is the life of the Copts in the manaſteries of Saint Macarius, and Saint Anthony in the deſert. Every where their convents are priſons, with no other light than a window by which they receive their victuals; and every where are they built in diſmal places, deſtitute of whatever can give pleaſure, and where nothing is to be found but rocks and ſtones, without either graſs or moſs; and yet they are full of monks: there are fifty at Sinai, five and twenty at Mar Saba, and upwards of three hundred in the two Deſerts of Egypt. I one day enquired the reaſon of this, in a converſation with one of the ſuperiors of Mar-hanna, and aſked him, "What could induce men to engage in a "mode of life ſo truly miſerable?" "What," ſaid he, "are not you a Chriſtian? Is not this the path which leads to heaven?"—"But," replied I, "We may alſo obtain ſalvation "without renouncing the world; (and be-"tween ourſelves, father,) I do not perceive "that the monks, though they are pious,

"poſſeſs

" poſſeſs that ancient fervour which through-
" out life, kept its attention fixed on the hour
" of death." " It is true," ſaid he, " we
" have no longer the auſterity of the ancient
" Anchorites, and in reality this is one rea-
" ſon why our convents are ſo full. You
" who come from a country where men live
" in ſecurity and abundance, may conſider our
" life as an inſupportable ſelf-denial, and our
" retreat from the world as a ſacrifice. But,
" in the ſituation of this country, perhaps,
" the caſe is different. What can we do?
" Turn merchants! We ſhould then be over-
" whelmed with the cares of buſineſs and
" our families, and, after having worked hard
" for thirty years, comes the Aga, the
" Pacha, or the Cadi; we are brought to
" trial without even the ſhadow of a crime;
" witneſſes are ſuborned to accuſe us; we
" are baſtinadoed, plundered, and turned
" into the world as naked as the firſt day
" we entered it. As for the peaſant, his
" caſe his ſtill worſe, the Aga oppreſſes him,
" the ſoldier pillages him, and the Arabs
" rob him. Shall we become ſoldiers? The
" profeſſion is laborious and dangerous, and
" how it will end not very certain. It may

" ſeem hard perhaps to ſhut ourſelves up
" in a convent; but, at leaſt, we live there in
" peace, and, though in a ſtate of habitual
" abſtinence and poverty, we perhaps poſſeſs
" and enjoy more than we ſhould if we had
" continued in the world. Obſerve the
" ſituation of the peaſants, and look at ours.
" We poſſeſs every thing they have, and even
" what they have not; we are better clad,
" and better fed; we drink wine and coffee:
" and who are our monks but the children
" of peaſants? You talk of the Copts of
" Saint Macarius and Saint Anthony! Be
" aſſured their condition is much better than
" that of the Bedouins and Fallahs who ſur-
" round them."

I own I was aſtoniſhed at ſo much frankneſs, and juſt reaſoning; but I felt, more forcibly than ever, that the human heart is moved by the ſame ſprings, in every ſituation. The deſire of happineſs is every where the motive, whether ſought in hope or actual enjoyment. The diſcourſe of this monk may ſuggeſt many other reflections, and ſhew how far the ſpirit of retirement from the world is connected with the

ſtate

ſtate of any Government; and from what cauſes and under what circumſtances it muſt originate, be predominant, or decline. But I ſhall now conclude this geographical view of Syria, and reſume, in a few words, what I have ſaid of its revenues and forces, to enable the reader to form a compleat idea of its political ſtate.

## CHAP. XXXII.

### *Political ſtate of Syria reſumed.*

SYRIA may be conſidered as a country compoſed of three long ſtrips of land of different qualities: one of theſe, extending along the Mediterranean, is a warm, humid valley, the healthineſs of which is doubtful, but which is extremely fertile; the other, which is the frontier of this, is a mountainous and rugged ſoil, enjoying a more ſalubrious temperature; the third, which lies behind the mountains to the eaſt, combines the dryneſs of the latter with the warmth of the former. We have ſeen by what a happy combination of the properties of climate and ſoil this province unites in a ſmall compaſs the advantages and productions of different zones, inſomuch, that nature ſeems to have deſigned it for one of the moſt agreeable habitations of this continent. It may be reproached, however, like almoſt all hot countries, with wanting that freſh and animated verdure which almoſt perpetually adorns our fields; we ſee there none of that gay carpeting of graſs and flowers which decorate the meadows

dows of Normandy and Flanders, nor thoſe clumps of beautiful trees which give ſuch richneſs and animation to the landſcapes of Burgundy and Brittany. As in Provence, the land of Syria has almoſt always a brown and parched aſpect, which is only enlivened here and there by firs, mulberry-trees, and vineyards. This defect is leſs the fault of nature, poſſibly, than that of art; had not theſe countries been ravaged by the hand of man, they might perhaps at this day have been ſhaded with foreſts. Thus much is certain, and it is the advantage of hot over cold countries, that in the former, wherever there is water, vegetation may be perpetually maintained and made to produce an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of fruits to flowers, and flowers to fruits. In cold, nay even in temperate climates, on the contrary, nature benumbed for ſeveral months, loſes in a ſterile ſlumber the third part, or even half the year. The ſoil which has produced grain, has not time, before the decline of the ſummer heat, to mature vegetables; a ſecond crop is not to be expected, and the huſbandman ſees himſelf condemned to a long and fatal repoſe. Syria, as we have ſeen, is exempt from theſe inconveniences;

if therefore it ſo happens, that its productions do not correſpond with is natural advantages, this is leſs owing to its phyſical than political ſtate. To fix our ideas on this head, let us reſume, in a few words, what we have already explained in detail of the revenues, forces, and population of the province.

From the ſtate of the contributions of each pachalic, it appears, that the annual ſum paid by Syria into the *Kaſna*, or Treaſury of the Sultan, amounts to two thouſand three hundred and forty-five purſes, viz.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| For Aleppo - - | 800 | Purſes |
| Tripoli - | 750 | |
| Damaſcus - | 45 | |
| Acre - - | 750 | |
| Paleſtine - | — | |
| Total | 2345 | |

Which are equal to 2,931,250 livres. (122,135*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*)

To this ſum muſt be added, firſt, the caſual inheritance of the fortunes of the Pachas, and of individuals, which may be eſtimated at one thouſand purſes, annually; ſecondly, the poll tax paid by the Chriſtians, called

*Karadij*, which is almoſt every where diſtinct from the other taxes, and is accountable directly to the Kaſna. This capitation does not take place in the countries which are ſub-let, as thoſe of the Maronites and Druzes, but is confined to the *Rayas*, or immediate ſubjects. The Capitation tickets are from three and five, to eleven piaſtres a head. It is difficult to eſtimate the total produce, but allowing one hundred and fifty thouſand to pay the tax, at the mean rate of ſix piaſtres, we have the ſum of 2,250,000 livres; and we cannot be far from the truth, if we compute the total of the Sultan's revenue from Syria, to be 7,500,000 livres, (312,500*l.*)

Let us now eſtimate what the country produces to thoſe who farm it, and we ſhall have

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| For Aleppo | - | 2,000 Purſes |
| Tripoli | - | 2,000 |
| Damaſcus | - | 10,000 |
| Acre - | - | 10,000 |
| Paleſtine | - | 600 |
| Total | | 24,600 |

Which

Which make 30,750,000 livres,(1,281,250*l.*) This ſum muſt be conſidered as the leaſt we can allow for the produce of Syria, the profits of the Sub-Farms, ſuch as the countries of the Druzes, the Maronites, the Anſarians, &c. not being included.

The military eſtabliſhment is by no means proportionable to what in Europe we ſhould expect from ſuch a revenue; all the troops of the Pachas united cannot amount to more than 5,700 men, both cavalry and infantry, viz.

| | *Cavalry* | *Natives of Barbary.* |
|---|---|---|
| For Aleppo | 600 | 500 |
| Tripoli | 500 | 200 |
| Acre | 1,000 | 900 |
| Damaſcus | 1,000 | 600 |
| Paleſtine | 300 | 100 |
| Total | 3,400 | 2,300 |

The conſtant forces of the country then conſiſt in three thouſand four hundred cavalry, and two thouſand three hundred Barbary infantry. It is true, that, in extraordinary caſes, theſe

are joined by the Janiſaries, and that the Pachas enliſt vagabond volunteers from every quarter, which form thoſe ſudden armies we have ſeen collected in the wars of Daher and Ali Bey: but the ſketch I have given of the military ſkill of theſe armies, and the diſcipline of ſuch troops, may convince us, that Syria is ſtill worſe defended than Egypt. We muſt, however, allow the Turkiſh ſoldiers two ineſtimable good qualities; a frugality which enables them to ſubſiſt in the moſt exhauſted country, and a bodily health capable of enduring the greateſt fatigues. This is the effect of the hardſhips to which they are inured by their manner of living. Continually on horſeback, and in the field, lying on the earth, and ſleeping in the open air, they do not experience that contraſt between the luxurious life of cities, and the fatigue of camps, which is ſo fatal to the ſoldiers of poliſhed nations.

Syria and Egypt, compared with reſpect to the facility with which they may be attacked or defended, differ almoſt in every point. Egypt is protected from a foreign enemy on the land ſide by her deſerts, and on that of the ſea by her dangerous coaſt.

coaſt. Syria, on the contrary, is open on the ſide of the continent by the Diarbekar, and expoſed alſo on that of the Mediterranean by a coaſt every where acceſſible. It is eaſy to make a deſcent in Syria, but very difficult to land in Egypt: Egypt once invaded is conquered: Syria may reſiſt; Egypt when conquered is extremely difficult to keep, and eaſily loſt; Syria is ſo eaſily defended, it is impoſſible it ſhould be loſt. Leſs ſkill is neceſſary to conquer one, than to preſerve the other. The reaſon is, that Egypt being a country of plains, the invader there makes a rapid progreſs; every movement brings on a battle, and every battle is deciſive; Syria, on the contrary, being a mountainous country, war there muſt be a war of poſts, and every loſs may be repaired.

The ſubject of population, which remains to be diſcuſſed, is infinitely more difficult than the two preceding ones. Calculations of this kind can only be made from analogies always liable to error. The beſt way will be to compute from two extremes, the populouſneſs of which is pretty well known. The part of the country which is beſt peopled,

pled, is that of the Maronites and Druzes, and gives nine hundred inhabitants for each ſquare league, which computation will alſo ſerve for the countries of Nablous, Huſbeya, Adjaloun, the territory of Damaſcus, and ſome other places. The other, which is the leaſt populous, is that of Aleppo, which gives from three hundred and eighty to four hundred inhabitants to each ſquare league, which eſtimation will ſuit the greater part of Syria. Calculating from theſe materials by a method too tedious to explain here, it appears to me that the total population of Syria may be eſtimated at 2,305,000 ſouls, viz.

| | |
|---|---|
| For the Pachalic of Aleppo - | 320,000 |
| that of Tripoli, not including the Keſraouan - - | 200,000 |
| the Keſraouan - - | 115,000 |
| the country of the Druzes | 120,000 |
| the Pachalic of Acre - | 300,000 |
| Paleſtine - - - | 50,000 |
| the Pachalic of Damaſcus | 1,200,000 |
| Total | 2,305,000 |

Let

Let us ſuppoſe it two millions and a half, and ſince Syria contains about five thouſand two hundred and fifty ſquare leagues, at the rate of one hundred and fifty in length, and thirty-five in breadth, we ſhall have upon an average four hundred and ſeventy-ſix inhabitants for every ſquare league. So feeble a population in ſo excellent a country, may well excite our aſtoniſhment, but this will be ſtill encreaſed if we compare the preſent number of inhabitants, with that of ancient times. We are informed by the philoſophical geographer, Strabo, that the territories of Jamnia and Joppa in Paleſtine, alone, were formerly ſo populous, as to be able to bring forty thouſand armed men into the field. At preſent they could ſcarcely furniſh three thouſand. From the accounts we have of Judea in the time of Titus, and which are to be eſteemed tolerably accurate, that country muſt have contained four millions of inhabitants; but at preſent, there are not, perhaps, above three thouſand. If we go ſtill farther back into antiquity, we ſhall find the ſame populouſneſs among the Philiſtines, the Phœnicians, and in the kingdoms of Samaria and Damaſcus. It is true that ſome writers,

writers, reaſoning from what they ſee in Europe, have called in queſtion theſe facts; ſeveral of which, indeed, appeared to be diſputable; but the compariſons on which they build, are not on that account the leſs erroneous; firſt, becauſe the lands of Aſia in general are more fertile than thoſe of Europe; ſecondly, becauſe a part of theſe lands are capable of being cultivated, and in fact are cultivated, without lying fallow or requiring manure; thirdly, becauſe the Orientals conſume one half leſs for their ſubſiſtence than the inhabitants of the weſtern world, in general; for all which reaſons it appears, that a territory of leſs extent may contain double and treble the population. Theſe authors exclaim againſt the armies of two and three hundred thouſand, furniſhed by ſtates, which in Europe would not produce above twenty or thirty thouſand; but it is not conſidered that the conſtitutions of ancient nations were wholly different from ours; that theſe nations were entirely cultivators; that there was leſs inequality, and leſs idleneſs than among us; that every cultivator was a ſoldier; that in war, the army frequently conſiſted of the whole

whole nation, and, in a word, that their ſtate was that of the preſent Maronites and Druzes. Not that I wiſh to appear an advocate for thoſe rapid populations, which from a ſingle man, are made to pour forth in a few generations, numerous and powerful nations; in theſe relations there are a multitude of miſtakes in words, and errors of Copyiſts; but admitting only what is conformable to experience and nature, there is nothing to contradict the great population of high antiquity: without appealing to the poſitive teſtimony of hiſtory, there are innumerable monuments which depoſe in favour of the fact. Such are the prodigious quantities of ruins diſperſed over the plains, and even in the mountains, at this day deſerted. On the moſt remote parts of Carmel are found wild vines and olive-trees, which muſt have been conveyed thither by the hand of man; and in the Lebanon of the Druzes and Maronites, the rocks now abandoned to fir-trees and brambles, preſent us in a thouſand places with terraces, which prove they were anciently better cultivated, and conſequently much more populous than in our days.

It

It now only remains for me, to collect the general facts ſcattered through this work, and thoſe I may have omitted, in order to form a complete deſcription of the political, civil, and moral ſtate of the inhabitants of Syria.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

### *Government of the Turks in Syria.*

THE reader muſt already have been convinced from what has been ſaid, that the government of the Turks in Syria is a pure military deſpotiſm; that is, that the bulk of the inhabitants are ſubject to a faction of armed men, who diſpoſe of every thing according to their intereſt or caprice. To form a more perfect conception of the ſpirit with which this faction governs, it will be ſufficient to conſider by what title they claim poſſeſſion.

When the Ottomans, under Sultan Selim, took Syria from the Mamlouks, they conſidered the country only as the ſpoil of a vanquiſhed enemy; as a poſſeſſion acquired by the law of arms and war. Now, according to this law, among barbarous nations, the vanquiſhed is wholly at the diſcretion of the victor, he becomes his ſlave; his life, his property, belong to his conqueror; he may diſpoſe of all as maſter, he owes his captive nothing, and grants what he leaves him as a favour. Such was this law among the Greeks and Romans,

Romans, and among all thoſe ſocieties of robbers whom we have honoured with the name of conquerors. Such, at all times, was that of the Tartars, from whom the Turks derive their origin. On theſe principles, even their firſt ſocial ſtate was formed. In the plains of Tartary, the hordes, ſeparated by their different intereſts, were no other than bands of robbers, armed for attack or defence, and to ſeize, as fair booty, whatever they might covet. Already, all the elements of their preſent ſtate were formed; continually wandering and encamped, they were at once ſhepherds and ſoldiers; each horde was an army; now, in an army, laws are but the orders of the chief, they are abſolute, and admit of no delay, they muſt proceed from one will, and from a ſingle head: hence, a ſupreme authority in him who commands; and, a paſſive ſubmiſſion in him who obeys. But as in the tranſmiſſion of theſe orders, the inſtrument becomes an agent in his turn, the conſequence is, a ſpirit at once imperious and ſervile, which is preciſely that exhibited by the Turkiſh conquerors. Proud, after their victory, of being one of the conquering people, the meaneſt of

the Ottomans treated the moſt illuſtrious of the vanquiſhed with the lofty ſuperiority of a maſter; and this ſpirit diffuſing itſelf through every rank, we may judge of the diſtance from whence the Supreme Chief looks down upon the croud of ſlaves beneath him. The ſentiments he conceives of them cannot be better pourtrayed than in the formulary of the titles aſſumed by the Sultans in their public acts: "I," ſay they, in their treaties with the kings of France, "I, who, "by the infinite grace of the great, juſt, "and omnipotent Creator, and by the "innumerable miracles of the Chief of Pro-"phets, am Emperor of Powerful Emperors, "the Refuge of Sovereigns, the Diſtributor of "Crowns to the Kings of the Earth, Ser-"vant of the two thrice ſacred Cities, (Mecca "and Medina), Governor of the Holy City "of Jeruſalem, Maſter of Europe, Aſia, "and Africa, conquered by our victorious "Sword, and our terrific Lance, Lord of "the Two Seas, (the White and Black "Seas), of Damaſcus, the Odour of Paradiſe, "of Bagdad the ſeat of the Caliphs, of the "Fortreſſes of Belgrade, Agria, and a multitude of Countries, Iſlands, Straights, "Nations,

" Nations, Generations, and of ſo many " victorious armies, which repoſe beneath the " ſhade of our Sublime Porte; I, who am " *the Shadow of God* on Earth, &c."

From ſuch exalted grandeur, how muſt the Sultan look down on the reſt of mankind? In what light muſt he view that earth which he poſſeſſes, and diſtributes, but as a domain of which he is abſolute maſter? What muſt the people he has ſubdued appear, but ſlaves devoted to his ſervice; and what the ſoldiers he commands, but ſervants by whoſe means he retains theſe ſlaves in obedience? Such is the real character of the Turkiſh government. This empire may be compared to a plantation in one of our Sugar Iſlands, where a multitude of ſlaves labour to ſupply the luxury of one Great Proprietor, under the inſpection of a few ſervants who take good care of themſelves. There is no difference, except that the dominions of the Sultan being too vaſt for a ſingle adminiſtration, he is obliged to divide them into ſmaller plantations, and ſeparate governments, adminiſtered in the ſame mode as the united empire. Such are the provinces under the government of the Pachas. Theſe

provinces again being too extenſive, the Pachas have had recourſe to further ſubdiviſion, and hence that ſeries of ſubalterns, which, ſtep by ſtep, deſcends to the loweſt employments. In this gradation of authority, the object in view being invariably the ſame, the means employed never change their nature. Thus, power being abſolute and arbitrary in the monarch, is tranſmitted abſolute and arbitrary to all his ſub-delegates. Each of theſe is the exact image of his next ſuperior. It is ſtill the Sultan who dictates and commands, under the varied names of *Pacha*, *Motſallam*, *Kaiem-Makam* and *Aga*, nor is there one in this deſcending ſcale, even to the *Delibaſhe*, who does not repreſent him. It is curious to hear with what inſolence the loweſt of theſe ſoldiers, giving his orders in a village, pronounces: *It is the will of the Sultan; it is the Sultan's pleaſure.* The reaſon of this inſolence is eaſily explained: for the bearer of the orders of the Sultan becomes himſelf, for that moment, the Sultan. It is not difficult to conceive what muſt be the conſequence of ſuch an adminiſtration, ſince all experience invariably proves, that moderation is the moſt difficult of virtues; and ſince even thoſe

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men who preach it moſt fervently, frequently neglect to practiſe it; how numerous muſt be the abuſes of unlimited power in the great, who are ſtrangers both to forbearance and to pity, in upſtarts proud of authority and eager to profit by it, and in ſubalterns continually aiming at greater power? Let us judge therefore, how far certain ſpeculative writers are juſtified in inſinuating, that deſpotiſm in Turkey is not ſo great an evil as we imagine, ſince, from its only reſiding in the perſon of the ſovering, it can alone affect the great by whom he is immediately ſurrounded. It is certain, to uſe the expreſſion of the Turks, *that the ſabre of the Sultan does not deſcend upon the duſt*; but this ſabre he entruſts to the hand of his Vizir, who delivers it to the Pacha, from whom it paſſes to the Motſallam, to the Aga, and even to the loweſt Delibaſhe; ſo that it is, in fact, within the reach of the vileſt retainer to office, and its deſtructive edge deſcends even on the meaneſt heads. This erroneous reaſoning ariſes from the ſtate of the people at Conſtantinople, to whom the Sultan is more attentive than to thoſe of the provinces; but this attention, which his own perſonal ſafety renders neceſſary there, is paid

to no other part of the empire; and, even there, it may be ſaid to be attended with diſagreeable effects; for, if Conſtantinople is in want of proviſions, ten provinces are famiſhed for a ſupply. Yet, which is of moſt importance to the empire, the capital or the provinces? in caſe of war, by which muſt ſoldiers be furniſhed, and by which fed? To the provinces therefore muſt we look to diſcover the real effects of deſpotiſm, and, in Turkey, as every where elſe, we muſt be convinced that arbitrary power in the ſovereign is fatal to the ſtate, as from the ſovereign it muſt neceſſarily devolve upon his ſubalterns, and become more abuſed the lower it deſcends; ſince it is a maxim verified by conſtant experience, that the ſlave, become maſter, is the moſt rigorous of Tyrants. Let us now examine the abuſes of this adminiſtration, as far as it reſpects Syria.

In each government, the Pacha, being the image of the Sultan, is, like him, an abſolute deſpot. All power is united in his perſon; he is chief both of the military and the finances, of the police and criminal juſtice. He has the power of life and death; he has the power of making peace and war; in a word, he

can

can do every thing. The main object of ſo much authority is to collect the tribute, that is, to tranſmit the revenue to the great proprietor who has conquered, and who poſſeſſes the country by the right of his *terrific lance*. This duty fulfilled, no other is required from him; the means employed by the agent to accompliſh it is a matter of no concern; thoſe means are left to his diſcretion; and ſuch is the nature of his ſituation, that he cannot be delicate in his choice of them; for he can neither advance, nor even maintain himſelf, but in proportion as he can procure money. The place he holds depends on the favour of the Viſir, or ſome other great officer; and this can only be obtained and ſecured by bidding higher than his competitors. He muſt therefore raiſe money to pay the tribute, and alſo to indemnify himſelf for all he has paid, ſupport his dignity, and make a proviſion in caſe of accidents. Accordingly, the firſt care of a Pacha, on entering on his government, is to deviſe methods to procure money, and the quickeſt are invariably the beſt. The eſtabliſhed mode of collecting the miri and the cuſtoms, is to appoint one or more

principal

principal farmers, for the current year, who, in order to facilitate the collection, divide it into leſſer farms, which are again ſubdivided, even to the ſmalleſt villages. The Pacha lets theſe employments to the beſt bidder, wiſhing to draw as much money from them as poſſible. The farmers, who, on their ſide have no object in taking them but gain, ſtrain every nerve to augment their receipt. Hence an avidity in theſe delegates always bordering on diſhoneſty; hence thoſe extortions to which they are the more eaſily inclined as they are ſure of being ſupported by authority; and hence, in the very heart of the people, a faction of men intereſted in multiplying impoſitions. The Pacha may applaud himſelf for penetrating into the moſt hidden ſources of private profits, by the clear-ſighted rapacity of his ſubalterns; but what is the conſequence? The people, denied the enjoyment of the fruit of their labour, reſtain their induſtry to the ſupply of their neceſſary wants. The huſbandman only ſows to preſerve himſelf from ſtarving; the artiſt labours only to ſupport his family; if he has any ſurplus, he carefully conceals it. Thus the arbitrary power of the Sultan, tranſmitted to the Pacha,

and

and to all his ſubdelegates, by giving a free courſe to extortion becomes the main ſpring of a tyranny which circulates through every claſs, whilſt its effects, by a reciprocal reaction, are every where fatal to agriculture, the arts, commerce, population; in a word, every thing which conſtitutes the power of the ſtate, or, which is the ſame thing, the power of the Sultan himſelf.

This power is not ſubject to leſs abuſes in the army. Perpetually urged by the neceſſity of obtaining money, on which his ſafety and tranquillity depend, the Pacha has retrenched, as far as poſſible, the uſual military eſtabliſhment. He diminiſhes the number of his troops, leſſens their pay, winks at their diſorders; and diſcipline is no more. Were a foreign war now to happen, were the Ruſſians to appear again in Syria, as in the year 1772, who would defend that province for the Sultan?

It ſometimes happens that the Pachas, who are Sultans in their provinces, have perſonal hatreds againſt each other. To gratify theſe, they avail themſelves of their power, and wage ſecret or open war, the ruinous conſequences of which are ſure to be felt by the ſubjects of the Sultan.

It

It alſo happens that theſe Pachas are tempted to appropriate to themſelves the power of which they are the depoſitaries. The Porte, foreſeeing this, endeavours to provide againſt their defection, by various means. The employments are divided, and particular officers maintained in the caſtles of the capitals, as at Aleppo, Damaſcus, and Tripoli; but ſhould a foreign enemy appear, what benefit would reſult from this diviſion? Every three months Capidjis are ſent, who keep the Pachas in alarm, on account of the ſecret orders of which they are the bearers; but not unfrequently the Pachas, as cunning as themſelves, get rid of theſe troubleſome ſpies. The Porte, in ſhort, often changes the reſidence of the Pachas, that they may not have time to form connections in the country; but as all the conſequences of a bad form of government have a miſchievous tendency, the Pachas, uncertain of to-morrow, treat their provinces as mere tranſient poſſeſſions, and take care to make no improvement for the benefit of their ſucceſſors. On the contrary, they haſten to exhauſt them of the produce, and to reap in one day, if poſſible, the fruit of many years. It is true, theſe irregularities, every now and then,

then, are puniſhed by the bowſtring, one of the practices of the Porte which beſt diſplays the ſpirit of his government. When a Pacha has laid waſte a province; when, in conſequence of repeated acts of tyranny, the clamours of the people have reached Conſtantinople, woe be unto him if he be without a protector, or ſparing of his money! At the end of the year, a Capidji arrives, producing the firman of prorogation: ſometimes bringing with him a ſecond or third tail, or ſome other new mark of favour; but, whilſt the Pacha is celebrating a feſtival on the occaſion, an order appears for his depoſition, then another for his exile, and frequently a kat-ſherif for his head. The oſtenſible reaſon is always for having oppreſſed the ſubjects of the Sultan: but the Porte, by taking poſſeſſion of the wealth of the extortioner, and reſtoring nothing to the people, leaves ſufficient room to think that the government is far from diſapproving a ſyſtem of robbery and plunder which it finds ſo profitable. Every day, therefore, affords freſh examples of oppreſſive and rebellious Pachas; and if none of them have hitherto ſucceeded in forming a ſtable and independent government, it is leſs owing to theſe wiſe meaſures of the Divan,

Divan, and the vigilance of the Capidjis, than their own ignorance in the art of governing. In Aſia, thoſe moral means are never employed, which, in the hands of able legiſlators, have frequently raiſed powerful ſtates on foundations at firſt extremely feeble. The Pachas regard nothing but money; nor has repeated experience been able to make them ſenſible that this, ſo far from being the pledge of their ſecurity, becomes the certain cauſe of their deſtruction. They are wholly devoted to amaſſing wealth, as if friends were to be purchaſed. Aſa, Pacha of Damaſcus, left eight millions of livres (above three hundred and thirty thouſand pounds), and was betrayed by his Mamlouk, and ſmothered in the bath. We have ſeen what was the fate of Ibrahim Sabbar with his twenty millions. Djezzar is following the ſame courſe, and will end in the ſame way. Not one of them has ever thought of inſpiring and promoting that diſintereſted love of the public welfare, which in Greece and Italy, nay, even in Holland and Switzerland, has enabled the lower claſſes of people to enter into a ſucceſsful conteſt with the greateſt empires. The Emirs and Pachas all imitate the Sultan: all regard

gard the country they govern as their private property, and their ſubjects as their domeſtics; while they, in their turn, ſee in their ſuperiors only imperious maſters; and ſince they are all alike, of what importance is it which they ſerve? Hence, in theſe ſtates, the cuſtom of employing foreign in preference to national troops. The chiefs are diſtruſtful of the people, conſcious that they do not merit their attachment; their aim is not to govern but to tyrannize over the country, and by a juſt relation, their country ſees their ruin with indifference. The mercenaries, too, whom they keep in pay, continually intent on their own intereſt, ſell them to the enemy, to profit by their ſpoils. Daher had maintained for ten years the wretch, who murdered him. It is a truth worthy of remark, that the greater part of the African and Aſiatic ſtates, eſpecially ſince the days of Mahomet, have been governed on theſe principles, and that no part of the world has exhibited ſo many commotions in its provinces, or revolutions in its empires. Ought we not then to conclude, that arbitrary power in the ſovereign is no leſs fatal to the military ſtrength, than the finances of a nation? But let us proceed

to

to enquire what are its effects on the civil government of Syria.

The Pacha, as being the image of the Sultan, is the head of all the police of his government; under which title muſt be comprehended criminal juſtice. He poſſeſſes the moſt abſolute power of life and death, and this he exerciſes without formality, and without appeal. Wherever he meets with an offence, he orders the criminal to be ſeized, and the executioner, by whom he is accompanied, ſtrangles him, or takes off his head upon the ſpot; nay, ſometimes, he himſelf does not diſdain this office, Three days before my arrival at Sour, Djezzar had ripped up a Maſon with an axe. The Pacha frequently ſtrolls about diſguiſed, and woe to the man whom he ſurprizes in a fault! But as he cannot be preſent every where, he commits this duty to a deputy, called the *Wali*, whoſe office reſembles that of the *Officiers de Guet* in France. Like them he patroles night and day; keeps a watchful eye on the ſeditious; apprehends robbers; and like the Pacha, judges and condemns without appeal. The criminal bends his neck; the executioner ſtrikes; the head falls, and the body is carried

ried off in a leathern ſack. This officer has a multitude of ſpies, who are almoſt all of them thieves, and by their means knows every thing that paſſes. It is not, therefore, aſtoniſhing that cities like Cairo, Aleppo, and Damaſcus, ſhould be ſafer than Genoa, Rome, or Naples; but how dearly is this ſafety purchaſed! and how many innocent lives are ſacrificed to the partiality and injuſtice of the Wali and his agents!

The Wali preſides likewiſe over the police of the markets; that is, he inſpects the weights and meaſures; and, on this head, his ſeverity is extreme. For the ſmalleſt deficiency in the weight of bread, meat, *debs*, or confectionary, he inflicts five hundred ſtrokes of the baſtinado, and, ſometimes, even death. Examples of this are frequent in the great cities, yet there is no country wherein falſe weights are more common; all the dealer has to do is to keep a ſharp look-out for the paſſing of the Wali, and Mohteſeb, or inſpector of the market. As ſoon as they appear on horſeback, the deficient weights are put out of the way, and others produced. The dealers alſo bargain with the ſervants who precede

theſe two officers; and for a certain ſum can enſure impunity.

The office of Wali by no means extends to thoſe various objects of utility which are under the regulation of our police. No attention is paid either to the cleanlineſs or the ſalubrity of the cities. They are never paved, ſwept, or watered, either in Syria or in Egypt. The ſtreets are narrow and winding, and almoſt always encumbered with rubbiſh. Travellers are, above all, ſhocked at the ſight of a multitude of hideous dogs, which have no owner. They form a ſort of independent body, ſubſiſting on public alms. They are quartered by families and diſtricts, and ſhould one of them happen to paſs his limits, a combat enſues, which is extremely troubleſome to paſſengers. The Turks, who ſhed the blood of man ſo readily, do not kill theſe dogs, though they avoid touching them as unclean. They pretend they enſure the ſafety of the cities by night; but this is more owing to the Wali, and the gates with which every ſtreet is ſecured. It is alleged, likewiſe, that they devour the carrion; but in this they are aſſiſted by a great number of jackalls, which are concealed by

hundreds in the gardens, and among the ruins and tombs. We muſt not expect either walks or plantations in the Turkiſh cities. In ſuch a country, life, doubtleſs, will appear neither ſecure nor agreeable; but this alſo is the conſequence of the arbitrary power of the Sultan.

## CHAP. XXXIV,

### *Of the Adminiſtration of Juſtice.*

THE adminiſtration of juſtice in civil ſuits, is the only ſpecies of authority which the Sultans have with-held from the executive power of the Pachas; whether, from a ſenſe of the enormous abuſes which might reſult from entruſting them with it, or from knowing that it required more time and information than fall to the ſhare of theſe their deputies. Other officers are appointed for this purpoſe, who, by a wiſe regulation, are independent of the Pachas; but as their juriſdiction is founded on the ſame principles with the reſt of the government, it is attended with the ſame inconveniencies.

All the magiſtrates of the empire, called *Cadis*, or judges, depend on one principal chief, who reſides at Conſtantinople. The title of his dignity is *Cadi-el-aſkar*. *(g)*, or Judge of the Army; which title alone indicates, as I have already obſerved, that the power is entirely military, and reſides wholly in the army and its general. This grand Cadi

(g) Commonly called *Cadi Leſkier*.

names

names the judges of the capital cities, ſuch as Aleppo, Damaſcus, Jeruſalem, &c. Theſe judges again name others in the places within their juriſdiction. But what is the qualification required? Always money. All theſe employments, like thoſe of the government, are ſold to the beſt bidder, and farmed in the ſame way from year to year. What is the conſequence? That the farmers endeavour to recover the money advanced; to obtain intereſt, and alſo a profit. What therefore can we expect from ſuch diſpoſitions in men who hold the balance of juſtice in their hand, and decide on the property of their fellow citizens?

The tribunal whence theſe Cadis iſſue their deciſions, is called the *Mahkama*, or Place of Judgment. Sometimes it is at their own houſes; but never at any place which correſponds with the idea annexed to ſo ſacred an employment. In an empty mean apartment, the Cadi is ſeated on a mat or wretched carpet. On each ſide of him are his clerks and ſome domeſtics. The door is open to every body; the parties appear; and there, without interpreters, advocates, or attornies, each pleads his own cauſe. Squatted

on the ground, they ſtate the facts, diſpute, conteſt, and reply again in their turns. Sometimes the debates are violent; but the cries of the clerks, and the ſtaff of the Cadi, ſoon reſtore order and ſilence. Gravely ſmoking his pipe, and twiſting the end of his beard round his finger, this judge liſtens, interrogates, and concludes by pronouncing a ſentence without appeal, which at moſt allows but two months delay. The parties are never very well ſatisfied; they retire, however, with reſpect, and pay a fee, eſtimated at one tenth of the litigated property, without murmuring at the deciſion, as it is invariably dictated by the *infallible Koran*.

It muſt be owned this ſimplicity of juſtice, which does not conſume the property, either in preliminary, acceſſary, or ſubſequent expences; and this proximity of the ſovereign tribunal, which does not compel the pleaders abſence from his place of reſidence, are two ineſtimable advantages; but it cannot be denied that they are counterbalanced by too many abuſes. In vain have ſome writers, to render more conſpicuous the vices of our legal cuſtoms, boaſted the adminiſtration of juſtice among the Turks. Theſe commendations,

mendations, founded on a ſuperficial knowledge of the theory of Mahometan juriſprudence, are not juſtified, when we conſider what is actually practiſed. Daily experience proves, that there is no country wherein juſtice is more corrupted than in Egypt, Syria, and, no doubt, all the reſt of the Turkiſh empire (*b*). Venality is no where more open, nor more impudent. The parties may bargain for their cauſe with the Cadi, as they would for any common commodity. Inſtances of great ſagacity and equity, no doubt, are to be found; but they are rare, which is the very reaſon why they are ſo celebrated. Corruption is habitual and general; and how is it poſſible to be otherwiſe, where integrity may be ruinous, and injuſtice lucrative; where each Cadi, deciding without appeal, fears neither a reviſion of his ſentence, nor puniſhment for his partiality; and where, in ſhort, the want of clear and preciſe laws, afford a thouſand ways of avoiding the ſhame of an evident injuſtice, by opening the crooked paths of commentaries and interpretations?

(*b*) See, on this ſubject, the obſervations of Sir James Porter, the Engliſh miniſter at Conſtantinople.

Such is the ſtate of juriſprudence among the Turks, that there exiſts no public and acknowledged code, where individuals may inſtruct themſelves in their reſpective rights. The judgments given are, in general, founded on unwritten *cuſtoms*, or on the frequently contradictory *deciſions* of the Doctors. The collections of theſe deciſions are the only books wherein the judges can acquire any notions of their duty; and in them they find only particular caſes more calculated to confound than enlighten their ideas. The Roman law, in many particulars, has ſerved as a baſis for the determinations of the Mahometan Doctors; but the great and inexhauſtible ſource to which they recur, is the *moſt pure book*, the *depoſitary of all knowledge*, the *code of all legiſlation*, the *Koran of the Prophet*.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXV.

### *Of the influence of religion.*

IF the object of religion among the Turks were such as it ought to be among all nations; did it teach the great, moderation in the exercise of their power, and the vulgar, toleration amid the diversity of opinions, it would still be a matter of doubt whether it could sufficiently correct the vices of which we have been speaking; since the experience of all men proves that the principles of morality only influence conduct, so far as they are seconded by civil laws. But nothing can be worse calculated to remedy the abuses of government than the spirit of *Islamism:* we may on the contrary, pronounce it to be their original source. To convince himself of this, the reader has only to examine their revered book. In vain do the Mahometans boast that the Koran contains the seeds and even the perfection of all political and legislative knowledge, and jurisprudence: nothing but the prejudice of education, or the partiality of interest can dictate, or admit such a judg-

judgment. Whoever reads the Koran, muſt be obliged to confeſs, that it conveys no notion, either of the relative duties of mankind in ſociety, the formation of the body politic, or the principles of the art of governing; nothing, in a word, which conſtitutes a legiſlative code. The only laws we find there may be reduced to four or five ordinances relative to polygamy, divorces, ſlavery, and the ſucceſſion of near relations; and even theſe form no code of juriſprudence, but are ſo contradictory, that they cannot be reconciled by the altercations of the doctors. The reſt is merely a chaos of unmeaning phraſes; and emphatical declamation on the attributes of God, from which nothing is to be learnt; a collection of puerile tales, and ridiculous fables; and, on the whole, ſo flat and faſtidious a compoſition, that no man can read it to the end, notwithſtanding the elegance of M. Savary's tranſlation. But ſhould any general tendency or ſemblance of meaning be viſible through the abſurdities of this delirious effuſion, it is the inculcation of a fierce and obſtinate fanaticiſm. We are wearied with the perpetual recurrence of the words *impious*, *incredulous*, *enemies*

*enemies of God and the Prophet; rebels againſt God and the Prophet; devotion towards God and the Prophet.* Heaven is open to whomſoever combats in their cauſe; *Houris* ſtretch out their arms to martyrs; the imagination takes fire, and the proſelyte exclaims, "Oh Ma-" homet; thou art the meſſenger of God; " thy word is his; he is infallible; thou canſt " neither err nor deceive me: go on, I follow " thee." Such is the ſpirit of the Koran, and it is viſible in the very firſt line. "There " is no uncertainty in this book; it guides with-" out error thoſe who believe without doubt-" ing, who believe in what they do not ſee." What is the tendency of this, but to eſtabliſh the moſt abſolute deſpotiſm in him who commands, and the blindeſt devotion in him who obeys? and ſuch was the object of Mahomet. He did not wiſh to enlighten men, but to rule over them; he ſought not diſciples, but ſubjects; and obedience, not reaſoning is required from ſubjects. It was to lead them the more eaſily that he aſcribed all to God. By making himſelf his miniſter, he removed every ſuſpicion of perſonal intereſt; and avoided alarming that diſtruſtful vanity which is common to all men; he feigned to obey that

he

he might exalt obedience; he made himſelf but the firſt of ſervants, with a certainty that every man would ſtrive to be the ſecond, and command the reſt. He allured by promiſes, and terrified by menaces; and as every novelty is ſure to meet with opponents, by holding out the terrors of his anathemas, he left them the hope of pardon. Hence in ſome paſſages we find an appearance of toleration; but this toleration is ſo rigid, that ſooner or later, it muſt lead to abſolute ſubmiſſion; ſo that in fact the fundamental ſpirit of the Koran continually recurs, and the moſt arbitrary power is delegated to the meſſenger of God, and by a natural conſequence to his ſucceſſors. But by what kind of precepts is the uſe of this power manifeſted? "There is only one "God, and Mahomet is his prophet. Pray "five times a day turning towards Mecca. "Eat not in the day time during the whole "month of the Ramadan. Make the pil-"grimage of the Caaba, and give alms to the "widow and orphan." Here is the profound ſource from whence muſt ſpring all the ſciences, and every branch of political and moral knowledge. The Solons, the Numas, the Lycurguſes; all the Legiſlators of antiquity have

have in vain exhauſted their genius to explain the relations of mankind in ſociety, to declare the duties and rights of every claſs, and every individual: Mahomet more able or more profound than they, reſolves all into five phraſes. It certainly may be ſafely aſſerted, of all the men who have ever dared to give laws to nations, none was more ignorant than Mahomet; of all the abſurd compoſitions ever produced, none is more truly wretched than his book. Of this, the tranſactions of the laſt twelve hundred years in Aſia are a proof; for were I inclined to paſs from particular to general obſervations, it would be eaſy to demonſtrate, that the convulſions of the governments, and the ignorance of the people, in that quarter of the globe, originate more or leſs immediately in the Koran, and its morality; but I muſt confine myſelf to the country we are now conſidering, and returning to Syria, explain to the reader, the ſtate of its inhabitants, relative to religion.

The people of Syria in general, as I have already ſaid, are Mahometans or Chriſtians: this difference of opinion is productive of the moſt

moſt diſagreeable effects in their civil ſtate. Treating each other mutually as rebels, infidels, and impious, the followers of Jeſus Chriſt and Mahomet, are actuated by a reciprocal averſion which keeps alive a ſort of perpetual war. We may readily conceive the exceſſes to which the prejudices of education may carry the vulgar, at all times violent; and the government ſo far from interpoſing as a mediator in theſe diſſentions, foments them by its partiality. Faithful to the ſpirit of the Koran, it treats the Chriſtians with a ſeverity, which diſplays itſelf in varied forms. Mention has been ſometimes made of the toleration of the Turks; the following is the price at which it is purchaſed:

All kind of public worſhip is prohibited the Chriſtians, except in the Keſraouan, where the government has not been able to prevent it. They cannot build any new churches; and if the old ones fall to decay, they are not allowed to repair them, unleſs by a permiſſion which coſts them very dear. A Chriſtian cannot ſtrike a Mahometan without riſk of his life, but if a Mahometan kill a Chriſtian, he eſcapes for a ſtipulated price.

price. Chriſtians muſt not mount on horſe-back in the towns; they are prohibited the uſe of yellow ſlippers, white ſhawls, and every ſort of green colour. Red for the feet, and blue for the dreſs, are the colours aſſigned them. The porte has juſt renewed its ordinances to re-eſtabliſh the ancient form of their turbans; they muſt be of a coarſe blue muſlin, with a ſingle white border. When they travel, they are perpetually ſtopped at different places to pay *Kafars*(*i*), or tolls, from which the Mahometans are exempt: in judicial proceedings, the oath of two Chriſtians is only reckoned for one; and ſuch is the partiality of the Cadis, that it is almoſt impoſſible for a Chriſtian to gain a ſuit; in ſhort, they alone are ſubject to the Capitation, called *Karadji*, the ticket of which bears theſe remarkable words: *Djazz-el-ras*, that is (redemption) *from cutting off the head*; a clear proof of the title by which they are tolerated and governed.

Theſe diſtinctions, ſo proper to foment hatred and diviſions, are diſſeminated among the people, and manifeſt themſelves in all the intercourſe of life. The meaneſt Ma-

(*i*) The *K* here is a guttural *k*.

hometan

hometan will neither accept from a Chriſtian, nor return the ſalute of *Salam-alai-k* (*k*), health to thee, on account of the affinity between the word *Salam* and *Eſlam*, (Iſlamiſm), the proper name of their religion, and *Moſlem*, (Muſſulman) the name of the perſon who profeſſes it: the uſual ſalutation is only good morning, or good evening, and it is well too, if it be not accompanied with a *Djaour*, *Kafer*, *Kelb*, i. e. impious, infidel, dog, expreſſions to which the Chriſtians are familiarized. The Mahometans even affect to mortify them, by practiſing before them the ceremonies of their worſhip. At noon, at three o'clock, and at ſun-ſet, as ſoon as the criers from the tops of the minarets announce the time of prayer, they appear at the doors of their houſes, where, after making their ablution, they gravely ſpread a mat or carpet, and turning themſelves towards Mecca, croſs their arms upon their breaſts, ſtretch them towards their knees, and begin nine proſtrations, down to the ground, reciting the preface to the Koran. In converſation, they frequently make a break

(*k*) Or, *Salam-alai-Kom*, health to you. Hence the word *Salamalek*.

by

by their profeſſion of faith, "There is but "one God, and Mahomet is his prophet." They talk perpetually of their religion, and conſider themſelves as the only *faithful* to God. To confute them, the Chriſtians, in their turn, affect great devotion; and hence that oſtentation of piety which forms one of the principal characteriſtics of the Orientals; but the heart makes no ſacrifice, and the Chriſtians retain a deep remembrance of all theſe inſults, and only wait a favourable opportunity to ſeek their revenge. The effects of this were viſible in the time of Daher, when, proud of the protection of his miniſter, in many places they aſſumed a ſuperiority over the Mahometans. The exceſſes they committed on that occaſion ſhould ſerve as a leſſon to any European power, which may hereafter obtain poſſeſſion of countries inhabited by Greeks and Mahometans.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

### *Of property, ranks, and conditions.*

THE Sultans having arrogated to themſelves, by right of conqueſt, the property of all the lands of Syria, the inhabitants can no longer pretend to any real, or even perſonal property; they have nothing but a temporary poſſeſſion. When a father dies, the inheritance reverts to the Sultan, or his delegate, and the children can only redeem the ſucceſſion by a conſiderable ſum of money. Hence ariſes an indifference to landed eſtates, which proves fatal to agriculture. In the towns, the poſſeſſion of houſes is in ſome meaſure leſs uncertain and leſs ruinous; but every where the preference is given to property in money, as more eaſy to hide from the rapine of the Deſpot. In the tributary countries, ſuch as thoſe of the Druzes, the Maronites, Haſbeya, &c. there exiſts a real property, founded on cuſtoms which their petty princes dare not violate; on which account the inhabitants are ſo attached to their eſtates, that it is very rare

to

to hear of an alienation of lands among them. There is nevertheleſs one method, even under the Turkiſh government, of ſecuring a perpetual *uſufruct*, which is by making what is called a *Wakf*, that is an endowment or donation of an eſtate to a Moſque. The proprietor then becomes the irremoveable guardian of his property, on condition of a fine, and under the protection of the profeſſors of the law; but this act has this inconvenience, that inſtead of protecting, the men of the law frequently devour the property; and in that caſe, to whom are they to look for redreſs, ſince the embezzlers of the property are at the ſame time the diſtributors of juſtice? For this reaſon, theſe lawyers are almoſt the only landholders, nor do we ſee, under the Turkiſh government, that multitude of ſmall proprietors, who conſtitute the ſtrength and riches of the tributary countries.

What I have ſaid of conditions in Egypt, will apply equally to Syria: they may be reduced to four or five; the cultivators or peaſants, artiſans, merchants, military men, and thoſe who fill the different departments of the law and juridical offices. Theſe various claſſes

again may be comprehended under two others: the people, which includes the peaſants, artiſans, and merchants; and the government compoſed of the military, and legal and judicial officers. According to the principles of their religion, the power ſhould reſide in the latter order; but ſince the diſpoſſeſſion of the Caliphs by their lieutenants, a diſtinction has taken place between the ſpiritual and temporal power, which has left only the ſhadow of authority to the interpreters of the law: Such is that of the Grand Mufti (*l*), who repreſents the Caliph, among the Turks. The real power is in the hands of the Sultan, who repreſents the lieutenant, or general of the army. That favourable prejudice, however, which the people entertain for dethroned powers, ſtill preſerves to profeſſors of the law, a credit, of which they almoſt always avail themſelves, to form a *party of oppoſition*; the Sultan is awed by it at Conſtantinople, nor do the Pachas venture too openly to thwart it in their provinces. In each city this party is headed by the Mufti, who derives his authority from that

(*l*) This term ſignifies *Decider* of the caſes which concern religion.

of

of Conſtantinople; his employment is hereditary and not venal, which ſingle circumſtance has preſerved more energy in this body than in all the others. From the privileges they enjoy, the families which compoſe it bear a conſiderable reſemblance to our nobility, although its true type be the army. They reſemble alſo our magiſtracy, our clergy, and even our citizens, as they are the only perſons in that country who live on their rents. From them to the peaſantry, the artiſans, and traders, the deſcent is ſudden, yet, as the condition of theſe three claſſes form the true ſtandard of the police and power of an empire, I ſhall ſelect the particulars beſt calculated to enable the reader to form juſt ideas.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

*State of the Peaſants and of Agriculture.*

IN Syria, and even throughout the Turkiſh empire, the peaſants, like the other inhabitants, are deemed *ſlaves* of the Sultan; but this term only conveys the meaning of our word *ſubjects*. Though maſter of their lives and properties, the Sultan does not ſell men; he does not limit them to a certain ſpot. If he beſtows an apanage on ſome grandee, it is not ſaid, as in Ruſſia and Poland, that he gives five hundred or a thouſand peaſants; in a word, the peaſants are oppreſſed by the tyranny of the government, but not degraded by feodal ſervitude.

When Sultan Selim had conquered Syria, in order to render the collection of the revenue more eaſy, he eſtabliſhed a ſingle territorial tribute called the *miri*. It ſhould ſeem, that this Sultan, notwithſtanding the ferocity of his character, underſtood the importance

portance of favouring the Huſbandman, for the miri, compared with the extent of the lands, is an infinitely moderate impoſt; and it was the more ſo at the time in which it was fixed, as Syria was then better peopled than at preſent, and perhaps alſo poſſeſſed a greater trade, as it lay on the moſt frequented route to India, little uſe having been yet made of the paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope. That this tax might be collected regularly, Selim gave orders to prepare a *deſtar*, or regiſter, in which the contingent of each village ſhould be ſet down. In ſhort, he eſtabliſhed the miri, at an invariable rate, and ordered it ſhould neither be augmented nor diminiſhed. Moderate as it was in its original eſtabliſhment, it could never be oppreſſive to the people; but by abuſes inherent in the conſtitution of the Turkiſh government, the Pachas and their agents have found the ſecret of rendering it ruinous. Not daring to violate the law eſtabliſhed by the Sultan reſpecting the immutability of the impoſt, they have introduced a multitude of changes, which, without the name, produce all the effects of an augmentation. Thus, having

the greateſt part of the land at their diſpoſal, they clog their conceſſions with burthenſome conditions; they exact the half, nay even two thirds, of the crop; they monopolize the ſeed and the cattle, ſo that the cultivators are under the neceſſity of purchaſing from them at their own price. The harveſt over, they cavil about loſſes, and pretended robberies, and as they have the power in their hands, they carry off what they think proper. If the ſeaſon fails, they ſtill exact the ſame ſum, and to pay themſelves, expoſe every thing the poor peaſant poſſeſſes to ſale. Happily, his perſon at leaſt remains free, for the Turks are ignorant of the refinement of impriſoning for debt the man who has no longer any property. To theſe conſtant oppreſſions are added a thouſand accidental extortions. Sometimes the whole village is laid under contribution for ſome real or imaginary offence; and ſometimes a ſervice of a new kind is introduced. A preſent is exacted on the acceſſion of each governor; a contribution of graſs is demanded for his horſes, and barley and ſtraw for his cavaliers: they muſt provide, likewiſe, for all the

the ſoldiers who paſs, or who carry orders, and the governors take care to multiply theſe commiſſions which are a ſaving to them, but inevitable ruin to the peaſants. The villages tremble at every *Lawend* who appears; he is a real robber under the name of a ſoldier; he enters as a conqueror, and commands as a maſter: *Dogs, Rabble; bread, coffee, tabacco; I muſt have barley, I muſt have meat.* If he caſts his eyes on any poultry, he kills them; and when he takes his departure, adding inſult to tyranny, he demands what is called *kera-el-dars*, the hire of his grinders. In vain do the peaſants exclaim againſt this injuſtice; the ſabre impoſes ſilence. Juſtice is remote and difficult of acceſs; nay, complaints are even dangerous. What is the conſequence of all theſe depredations? The poorer claſs of inhabitants ruined, and unable any longer to pay the miri, become a burthen to the village, or fly into the cities: but the miri is unalterable, and the ſum to be levied muſt be found ſomewhere, their portion falls on the remaining inhabitants, whoſe burthen, though at firſt light, now becomes inſupportable. If they are viſited by a two years drought

drought and famine, the whole village is ruined and abandoned; but the tax it ſhould have paid is levied on the neighbouring lands. They proceed in the ſame manner with the *Karadji* of the Chriſtians. Its amount having been eſtimated at the time they were firſt numbered, it muſt always produce the ſame, though thoſe who pay ſhould be leſs numerous. Hence it happens that this capitation is ſometimes carried from three, five and eleven piaſters, at which it was firſt fixed, to thirty-five and forty; which abſolutely impoveriſhes thoſe on whom it is raiſed, and obliges them to leave the country. Theſe burthens are more eſpecially oppreſſive in the countries beſtowed as an appanage, and in thoſe which are expoſed to the Arabs. In the former, the Titulary, greedy to augment his revenue, delegates full power to his Leſſee to augment the taxes, and he is well ſeconded by the avidity of the ſubalterns. Theſe men, refining on the arts of wringing money from the people, have contrived to impoſe duties on every commodity brought to market, on entries, the conveyance of goods, and even the burthen of an

aſs.

aſs. It is remarked that theſe exactions have made a rapid progreſs, eſpecially in the laſt forty years, from which time they date the decline of agriculture, the depopulation of the country, and the diminution in the quantity of ſpecie carried to Conſtantinople. With reſpect to the Bedouins, if they are at war, they pillage as enemies; and if at peace, devour every thing they can find as gueſts; hence the proverb, *Avoid the Bedouin, whether friend or enemy.* The leaſt wretched of the peaſants, are thoſe of the countries which raiſe themſelves a certain ſtipulated ſum, as is done by the Druzes, the Keſraouan, Nablous, &c. yet even there they are liable to be oppreſſed and impoveriſhed by various abuſes. But nothing is more deſtructive to Syria, than the ſhameful and exceſſive uſury cuſtomary in that country. When the peaſants are in want of money to purchaſe grain, cattle, &c. they can find none but by mortgaging the whole, or part, of their future crop, greatly under its value. The danger of letting money appear cloſes the hands of all by whom it is poſſeſſed; and if it is parted with it muſt be from the

the hope of a rapid and exorbitant gain; the moſt moderate intereſt is twelve per cent. the uſual rate is twenty, and it frequently riſes as high even as thirty.

From all theſe cauſes we may eaſily conceive how miſerable muſt be the condition of the peaſants. They are every where reduced to a little flat cake of barley or dourra, to onions, lentils, and water. They are ſo little acquainted with dainties, that they eſteem ſtrong oil, and rancid fat as delicacies. Not to loſe any part of their corn, they leave in it all ſorts of wild grain, even tares *(m)*, which occaſion vertigoes, and dimneſs of ſight for ſeveral hours, as I have myſelf experienced. In the mountains of Lebanon and Nablous, in time of dearth, they gather the acorns from the oaks, which they eat, after boiling or roaſting them on the aſhes. The truth of this has been authenticated to me among the Druzes, by perſons who have themſelves made uſe of them. We muſt therefore no longer accuſe the poets of hyperbole; but it will only be the more dif-

*(m)* In Arabic *Ziwan.*

ficult

ficult to believe that the golden age was the age of abundance.

By a natural conſequence of this miſery, the art of cultivation is in the moſt deplorable ſtate; the huſbandman is deſtitute of inſtruments, or has very bad ones; his plough is frequently no more than the branch of a tree, cut below a bifurcation, and uſed without wheels. The ground is tilled by aſſes, and cows, rarely by oxen; they would beſpeak too much riches; beef is therefore very ſcarce in Syria and Egypt, where, beſides, it is always lean and bad, like all the meat of hot countries. In the diſtricts expoſed to the Arabs, as in Paleſtine, the countryman muſt ſow with his muſket in his hand. Scarcely does the corn turn yellow, before it is reaped, and concealed in *Matmoures*, or ſubterraneous caverns. As litle as poſſible is employed for ſeed corn, becauſe they ſow no more than is barely neceſſary for ſubſiſtence; in a word, their whole induſtry is limited to a ſupply of their immediate wants; and to procure a little bread, a few onions, a wretched blue ſhirt, and a bit of woollen

woollen much labour is not neceſſary. The peaſant lives therefore in diſtreſs; but at leaſt he does not enrich his tyrants, and the avarice of deſpotiſm is its own puniſhment.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*Of the Artiſans, Traders, and Commerce.*

THE claſs of men who give value to commodities, by manufacturing them, or bringing them into circulation, is not ſo ill treated in Syria, as that which produces them; the reaſon of which is, that the property of the artiſans and traders, conſiſting in perſonal effects, is more concealed from the ſcrutinizing eye of government than that of the peaſants; beſides which, the artiſts and merchants, collected in the towns, eſcape more eaſily, in the crowd, from the rapicity of their rulers. This is one of the principal cauſes of the populouſneſs of the towns in Syria and even throughout Turkey. While in other countries, the cities are in ſome meaſure the overflow of the country, there they are the effect of its deſertion. The peaſants, expelled from their villages, fly thither for refuge, and find in them tranquillity and even a degree of eaſe and

plenty. The Pachas are more particularly attentive to this laſt article, as on it depends their perſonal ſafety; for beſides the immediate effects of a ſedition, which might be fatal to them, the Porte would not pardon them for endangering the ſafety of the empire, for want of ſupplying the people with bread. They take care therefore to keep proviſions cheap in all the principal towns, and eſpecially in that in which they reſide: if there be a dearth, it is always leaſt felt there. In caſe of a failure in the harveſt, they prohibit the exportation of grain, and oblige every perſon who poſſeſſes any, to ſell it at the price they fix under pain of death; and if there be none in the province, they ſend for it to other countries, as was the caſe at Damaſcus in November 1784. The Pacha placed guards on all the roads, permitted the Arabs to pillage every carriage going out of the country, and ſent orders into the Hauran, to empty all the *Maïmoures*, ſo that while the peaſants were dying with hunger in the villages, the people of Damaſcus paid for their bread but two paras, or two ſols and a half, (one penny farthing), the French pound, and thought it dear even at that

that price; but as in the political machine no part is independent of the reſt, it was not poſſible to give ſuch a mortal wound to agriculture, without its being felt by the arts and commerce. The reader will judge from a few details, whether the government be not as negligent in this as in every other particular.

Commerce in Syria, conſidered as to the manner in which it is carried on, is ſtill in that ſtate of infancy which characterizes barbarous ages and uncivilized countries. Along the whole coaſt there is not a harbour capable of admitting a veſſel of four hundred tons, nor are the roads ſecured by forts. The Malteſe corſairs formerly availed themſelves of this want of vigilance, to make prizes cloſe in with the ſhore; but as the inhabitants made the European merchants reſponſible for ſuch accidents, France has obtained from the order of Malta a prohibition to their corſairs from appearing within ſight of land; ſo that the natives may peaceably carry on their coaſting trade, which is tolerably briſk, from Latakia to Yafa. In the interior parts of the country, there are neither great roads nor canals, nor even bridges over the greater part

of the rivers and torrents, however neceſſary they may be in winter. Between town and town, there are neither poſts nor public conveyance. The only convenience of this kind is the *Tartar* courier, who comes from Conſtantinople to Damaſcus, by way of Aleppo. This courier has no relays but in the large towns, at very great diſtances; but in caſe of need he may diſmount the very firſt horſeman he meets. He leads with him, according to the cuſtom of the Tartars, a ſecond horſe in hand, and has frequently a companion for fear of accidents.

The communication between one town and another is maintained by carriers, who have no fixed time of departure. This ariſes from the abſolute neceſſity of forming troops, or caravans; nobody travels alone, from the inſecurity of the roads. One muſt wait for ſeveral travellers who are going to the ſame place, or take advantage of the paſſage of ſome great man, who aſſumes the office of protector, but is more frequently the oppreſſor of the caravan. Theſe precautions are, above all, neceſſary in the countries expoſed to the Arabs, ſuch as Paleſtine, and the whole frontier of the deſert, and even on the road from Aleppo to Skanderoon, on account of the Curd robbers. In the

the mountains, and on the coaſt, between Latakia and Carmel, we may travel with more ſafety; but the roads in the mountains are extremely bad, as the inhabitants are ſo far from levelling them, they endeavour to render them more rugged, in order, as they ſay, to cure the Turks of their deſire to introduce their cavalry.

It is remarkable, that we never ſee either a waggon or a cart in all Syria; which ariſes, no doubt, from the apprehenſion of having them ſeized by the minions of government, and ſuffering a great loſs at one ſtroke. Every thing is conveyed on the backs of mules, aſſes, or camels; all which animals are excellent here. The two former are employed in the mountains, and nothing can equal their addreſs in climbing and ſliding over the ſlopes of the craggy rocks. The camel is more made uſe of in the plains, becauſe he conſumes leſs, and carries more. His uſual burthen is about ſeven hundred and fifty pounds. His food is every thing you chuſe to give him; ſtraw, brambles, pounded dates, beans, barley, &c. With a ſingle pound of food, and as much water in a day, he will travel for weeks together. In the whole way from

Cairo to Suez, which is a journey of forty or forty-ſix hours, including the time allowed for reſt, they neither eat nor drink; but theſe faſtings, repeated, exhauſt them as well as other animals. Their breath then becomes fœtid. Their ordinary pace is very ſlow, not exceeding thirty-four or thirty-ſix hundred yards in an hour. It is needleſs to preſs them, they go no quicker; but by allowing them to reſt, they will travel from fifteen to eighteen hours a day.

There are no inns any where; but the cities, and commonly the villages, have a large building called a *Kan*, or *Kervan-ſerai*, which ſerves as an aſylum for all travellers. Theſe houſes of reception are always built without the precincts of the towns, and conſiſt of four wings round a ſquare court, which ſerves by way of incloſure for the beaſts of burden. The lodgings are cells, where you find nothing but bare walls, duſt, and ſometimes ſcorpions. The keeper of this Kan gives the traveller the key and a mat; and he provides himſelf the reſt. He muſt, therefore, carry with him his bed, his kitchen utenſils, and even his proviſions; for frequently not even bread is to be found in the villages. On this account the

the Orientals contrive their equipage in the moſt ſimple and portable form. The baggage of a man who wiſhes to be completely provided, conſiſts in a carpet, a matraſs, a blanket, two ſaucepans with lids, contained within each other; two diſhes, two plates, and a coffee-pot, all of copper, well tinned; a ſmall wooden box for ſalt and pepper; ſix coffee cups, without handles, in a leathern box; a round leathern table, which he ſuſpends from the ſaddle of his horſe; ſmall leathern bottles, or bags for oil, melted butter, water and brandy, (if the traveller be a Chriſtian) a pipe, a tinder-box, a cup of cocoa-nut, ſome rice, dried raiſins, dates, Cyprus cheeſe, and above all, coffee-berries, with a roaſter, and wooden mortar to pound them. I am thus particular to prove, that the Orientals are more advanced than we, in the art of diſpenſing with many things; an art which is not without its uſe.

Our European merchants are not contented with ſuch ſimple accommodations. Their journeys, therefore, are very expenſive, and conſequently not frequent; but even the richeſt natives of the country make no difficulty in paſſing part of their lives in the manner I

have deſcribed, on the roads of Bagdad, Baſſora, Cairo, and even of Conſtantinople. Travelling is their education, their ſcience; and to ſay of any man he is a merchant, is to pronounce him a traveller. They find in it the advantage of purchaſing their goods at the firſt hand, procuring them at a cheaper rate, enſuring their ſafety by eſcorting them themſelves; preventing many accidents, and obtaining ſome abatement of the numerous tolls. They learn, in ſhort, to underſtand weights and meaſures, the extreme diverſity of which renders theirs a very complicated profeſſion, ſince each town has its peculiar weight, which, under the ſame denomination, differs from that of another. The *Rotle* of Aleppo weighs about ſix pounds, Paris weight; that of Damaſcus five and one quarter; that of Saide leſs than five; that of Ramla near ſeven. The *Derhem* alone, that is the drachm, which is the firſt element of theſe weights, is the ſame every where. The long meaſures vary leſs; only two are known, the Egyptian cubit *(Draa Maſri)*, and the cubit of Conſtantinople *(Draa Stambouli)*.

Coin is ſtill more fixed; and you may travel over the whole empire from Kotchim to Aſouan,

Aſouan, without experiencing any change in its denomination or its value. The moſt ſimple of theſe coins is the *Para*, called alſo a *Medin*, a *Fadda*, a *Kata*, or a *Meſria*. It is of the ſize of an Engliſh ſilver threepence, and is only worth five liards (a little above a halfpenny). After the para, follow ſucceſſively pieces of five, ten, and twenty paras; then the *Zolata*, or *Iſlote*, which is worth thirty; the *Piaſtre*, called *Kerſh-aſadi*, or Piaſtre of the Lion, worth forty paras, or fifty French ſols (two ſhillings and a penny); and which is moſt generally uſed in commerce; and, laſtly, the *Abou-Kelb*, or Piaſter of the Dog, which is worth ſixty paras. All theſe coins are ſilver, but with ſuch a mixture of copper alloy, that the abou-kelb is as large as a crown of ſix livres, though its value be only four livres five ſols (Three and ſixpence halfpenny). They bear no image, becauſe of the prohibition of the Prophet, but only the cypher of the Sultan on one ſide, and on the other theſe words: *Sultan of the two Continents, Kakan* (*n*), *(i. e.* Lord*) of the two Seas, the Sultan, Son of the Sultan N.*

(*n*) *Kakan* is a Tartarian word.

*ſtruck at Stamboul*, (Conſtantinople), or at *Maſr* (Cairo); which are the only two cities where there is a mint.

The gold coins are the ſequin, called *Dahab*, or piece of gold; and alſo *Zahr-Mahaboub*, or Well-beloved Flower. It is worth three piaſtres of forty paras, or ſeven livres ten ſols (ſix ſhillings and three-pence); the half ſequin is only worth ſixty paras. There is likewiſe a ſequin, called *Fondoucli*, which is worth one hundred and ſeventy paras; but it is very rare. Beſides theſe coins, which are thoſe of the whole Turkiſh empire, ſome of the European ſpecie has as much currency; ſuch are the ſilver Dollars of Germany, and the gold ſequins of Venice. The dollars are worth in Syria from ninety to ninety-two paras, and the ſequins from two hundred and five to two hundred and eight. Theſe two coins are worth from eight to ten paras more in Egypt. The Venetian ſequins are in great requeſt from the fineneſs of their ſtandard, and the practice they have of employing them for womens trinkets. The faſhion of theſe trinkets does not require much art; the piece of gold is ſimply pierced, in order to ſuſpend it by a chain, likewiſe of gold, which flows

flows upon the breaſt. The more ſequins there are attached to this chain, and the greater the number of theſe chains, the more is a woman thought to be ornamented. This is the favourite luxury, and the emulation of all ranks. Even the female peaſants, for want of gold, wear piaſtres or ſmaller pieces; but the women of a certain rank diſdain ſilver; they will accept of nothing but ſequins of Venice, or large Spaniſh pieces, and cruſadoes. Some of them wear two or three hundred, as well lying flat, as ſtrung one on another, and hung near the forehead, at the edge of the head-dreſs. It is a real load: but they do not think they can pay too dearly for the ſatisfaction of exhibiting this treaſure at the public bath, before a croud of rivals, to awaken whoſe jealouſy conſtitutes their chief pleaſure. The effect of this luxury on commerce, is the withdrawing conſiderable ſums from circulation, which remain dead; beſides, that when any of theſe pieces return into common uſe, having loſt their weight by being pierced, it becomes neceſſary to weigh them. The practice of weighing money is general in Syria, Egypt, and all Turkey. No piece, however effaced, is refuſed there; the merchant

chant draws out his ſcales and weighs it, as in the days of Abraham, when he purchaſed his ſepulchre. In conſiderable payments, an agent of exchange is ſent for, who counts paras by thouſands, rejects pieces of falſe money, and weighs all the ſequins, either ſeparately or together.

Almoſt the whole commerce of Syria is in the hands of the Franks, Greeks, and Armenians: formerly it was engroſſed by the Jews. The Mahometans take little part in it; not that they are prevented from engaging in it by the prejudices of their religion, or by indolence, as ſome political writers have imagined; but from the obſtacles thrown in their way by their own government. The Porte, conſtant to its uſual ſyſtem, inſtead of giving a decided preference to the Turkiſh ſubjects, finds it more lucrative to ſell their rights and induſtry to foreigners. Some of the European ſtates have, by treaties, obtained a diminution of cuſtom-houſe duties to three *per cent.* while the merchandiſe of the ſubjects of the Sultan pays ſtrictly ten, or, when favoured, ſeven *per cent.* Beſides this, the duties once paid in any port, the Frank is not liable to pay a ſecond time in another. But the caſe

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is different with the Ottoman ſubject. The Franks, too, having found it convenient to employ Latin Chriſtians as agents, have procured them a participation of their privileges, and they are no longer ſubject to the power of the Pachas, or amenable to Turkiſh juſtice. They cannot be plundered; and whoever has a commercial proceſs with them, muſt plead before the European conſul. With ſuch diſadvantages, is it ſurpriſing that the Mahometans ſhould relinquiſh commerce to their rivals? Theſe agents of the Franks are known in the Levant under the name of *Baratary Drogmans*; that is, privileged Interpreters *(o)*. The *barat*, or *privilege*, is a patent, of which the Sultan makes a preſent to the ambaſſadors reſiding at the Porte. Formerly theſe ambaſſadors, in their turn, made preſents of them to particular perſons in each factory; but within the laſt twenty years they have been made to underſtand it is more lucrative to ſell them. The preſent price is

*(o)* An interpreter in Arabic is called *Terdjeman*, of which our old writers have made *Truchement*. In Egypt it is pronounced *Tergoman*; of which the Venetians have made *Dragomano*, and the French converted into *Drogman*.

from five to ſix thouſand livres (two hundred or two hundred and fifty pounds). Each Ambaſſador has fifty, which are renewed on the death of the poſſeſſor, and form a pretty conſiderable perquiſite.

France has the greateſt trade to Syria of any European nation. Her imports conſiſt in five principal articles: 1ſt, The cloths of Languedoc: 2dly, Cochineal from Cadiz: 3dly, Indigos: 4thly, Sugars: And, 5thly, Weſt India coffee, which is in great requeſt with the Turks, and which they mix with that of Arabia, more eſteemed indeed, but too high priced. To theſe muſt be added hardware, caſt iron, ſheet lead, tin, Lyons laces, ſoaps, &c.

The returns conſiſt almoſt wholly in cottons, either ſpun or raw, or manufactured into coarſe ſtuffs; in ſome ſilks of Tripoli, the others being prohibited; in gall nuts, in copper and wool, which are brought from other countries to Syria. The Factories, or as we call them, *Echelles (p)*, of the French, are

(*p*) This whimſical name of *Echelles* (in Engliſh *ladders*) was adopted by the inhabitants of Provence, from the Italian

are ſeven in number, viz. Aleppo, Skandaroon, Latakia, Tripoli, Saide, Acre, and Ramla. The ſum of their imports amount to 6,000,000 of livres (250,000*l.*) viz.

| | |
|---|---|
| For Aleppo and Skandaroon, | 3,000,000 |
| Saide and Acre, - | 2,000,000 |
| Tripoli and Catagie, - | 400,000 |
| Ramla, - - | 600,000 |
| Total, | 6,000,000 |

All this commerce paſſes through the ſingle channel of Marſeilles, which poſſeſſes the excluſive privilege of ſending ſhips to, and receiving them from, the Levant, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the Province of Languedoc, which furniſhes the principal commodities. Strangers, that is, the natives of Turkey, are prohibited from carrying on their commerce, except through the medium of the Marſeilles factors, eſtabliſhed in their country. This prohibition was aboliſhed

lian *ſcala*, a corruption of the Arabic word *kalla*, which ſignifies a place proper to receive veſſels, a road, a harbour. At preſent the natives ſay, as the Italians, *ſcala*, *rada*.

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in 1777, for ſeveral reaſons ſet forth in the ordinance; but the merchants of Marſeilles made ſuch remonſtrances, that, ſince the month of April, 1785, matters have again been placed upon their former footing. It is for France to determine how far this trade is to her intereſt. Conſidered relatively to the Turkiſh empire, it may be averred, that the commerce of the Turks with Europe and India, is more detrimental than advantageous. For the articles exported being all raw unwrought materials, the empire deprives itſelf of all the advantages to be derived from the labour of its own ſubjects. On the other hand, the commodities imported from Europe and India, being articles of pure luxury, only ſerve to increaſe the diſſipation of the rich, and the ſervants of government, whilſt, perhaps, they aggravate the wretched condition of the people, and the claſs of cultivators. Under a government which pays no reſpect to property, the deſire of multiplying enjoyments, cannot but irritate irregular paſſions, and increaſe oppreſſion. In order to procure more clothes, furs, laces, ſugars, ſhawls, and India goods; there muſt be more money, cotton, and ſilks,

and

and more extortions. A momentary advantage may have accrued to the ſtates which furniſh theſe objects of luxury; but are not the advantages of the preſent moment borrowed from the wealth of future times? And can we hope long to carry on an advantageous commerce with a country which is precipitately haſtening to ruin?

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

*Of the Arts, Sciences, and Ignorance of the People.*

THE arts and trades in Syria afford room for many conſiderations. Firſt, The different kinds of them are infinitely leſs numerous than with us; we can ſcarcely reckon twenty, even including the moſt neceſſary. In the firſt place, the religion of Mahomet having proſcribed every ſort of image and figure, there exiſts neither painting, nor ſculpture, nor engraving, nor any of thoſe numerous profeſſions which depend on them. The Chriſtians alone purchaſe, for the uſe of their churches, ſome pictures of the Greeks at Conſtantinople, who, in point of taſte, are real Turks. In the ſecond place, a multitude of our trades are rendered unneceſſary, from the ſmall quantity of furniture uſed by the Orientals. The whole inventory of a wealthy family conſiſts in a carpet for the feet, in mats, cuſhions, matreſſes, ſome ſmall cotton cloths, copper and wooden platters for the table, a few ſtewing pans, a mortar, a portable

able mill, a little porcelain, and ſome plates of copper tinned. All our apparatus of tapeſtry, wooden bedſteads, chairs, ſtools, glaſſes, deſks, bureaus, cloſets; our buffets with their plate, and table ſervices; in a word, all our cabinet and upholſtery work, are luxuries totally unknown to them, ſo that nothing is ſo ſimple as a Turkiſh removal. Pococke is of opinion that theſe cuſtoms originate in the wandering life formerly led by the anceſtors of theſe nations; but they have had ſufficient time to forget this ſince they have become ſettled; and we ſhould rather ſearch for the cauſe of it in the nature of their government, which reduces every thing to what is ſtrictly neceſſary. Their cloathing is not more complicated, though much more expenſive. They are ſtrangers to the hats, perukes, hair-dreſſing, buttons, buckles, ſtocks, laced ruffles, and all that ſuperfluity with which we are ſurrounded. Cotton or ſilk ſhirts, which even the Pachas do not count by dozens, and which have neither ruffles nor wriſtbands, nor plaited collars; an enormous pair of breeches, which ſerve alſo by way of ſtockings; a handkerchief for the head; another round the waiſt, with

the three large folds of cloth and calico I have mentioned in deſcribing the dreſs of the Mamlouks, compoſe the whole wardrobe of the Orientals. The only articles of luxury are goldſmiths work, which is confined to womens trinkets, ſaucers for coffee wrought like lace, the ornaments of their harneſs, their pipes, and the ſilk ſtuffs of Aleppo and Damaſcus. In paſſing through the ſtreets of the towns, you meet with nothing but a number of beaters of cotton on tenters, retailers of ſtuffs and mercery, barbers to ſhave the head, tinners, lockſmiths, ſadlers, and eſpecially ſellers of little loaves, hard ware, grain, dates, and ſweetmeats, but very few butchers, and theſe ill ſupplied. There are alſo in the great towns a few wretched gunſmiths, who can only repair fire-arms, for not one of them can caſt a piſtol barrel; as for gun-powder, the frequent occaſion they have to make uſe of it, has excited the induſtry of the peaſants in general to make it, but there is no public manufactury.

In the villages, the inhabitants, limited to mere neceſſaries, have no arts but thoſe without which they cannot ſubſiſt; every one endeavours to ſupply his own wants, that he may not be obliged to ſhare what he has with others.

others. Each family manufactures the coarſe cottons with which they are cloathed. Every houſe has its portable mill, with which the women grind the barley or the Dourra for their ſuſtenance. The flour from theſe mills is coarſe, and the little round loaves made of it, ill leavened and badly baked; but they preſerve life, and that is all which is required. I have already obſerved how ſimple and cheap their inſtruments of huſbandry are. In the mountains they do not prune the vines, and they no where ingraft trees; every thing, in ſhort, reminds us of the ſimplicity of ancient times, which, poſſibly, as at this day, was only the ignorance of poverty. When we enquire the reaſon of their want of induſtry, the anſwer is uniformly the ſame: "It is good enough: That is ſufficient: What end would it anſwer to do more?" They are in the right, ſince they would not be permitted to reap the benefit of their labours.

Secondly; the ſtate of the arts in theſe countries, and the manner in which they are exerciſed, are intereſting, as they preſerve almoſt in every reſpect, the diſcoveries and methods of ancient times. For example, the

ſtuffs manufactured at Aleppo are not of Arabian invention; this art is borrowed from the Greeks, who themſelves, doubtleſs, imitated the ancient Orientals. The dyes they uſe are, probably, as old as the time of the Tyrians, and they carry them at this day to a perfection not unworthy of that people; but the workmen, jealous of their art, make an impenetrable myſtery of the proceſs. The manner in which the ancients ſecured the harneſs of their horſes againſt the ſtrokes of the ſabre, was undoubtedly the ſame which is now made uſe of at Aleppo and Damaſcus, for the head ſtalls of their bridles (*q*). The ſmall ſilver plates with which the leather is lined, hold together without nails, and are ſo jointed, that without depriving the leather of its pliancy, there remains no interſtice for the edge of the weapon.

The cement they make uſe of, is no doubt that of the Greeks and Romans. To make

(*q*) On this ſubject, I ſhall obſerve, that the Mamlouks of Cairo exhibit every year at the proceſſions of the Caravan, coats of mail, helmets, and vizors, braſſets, and all the armour of the time of the Croiſades. There is alſo a collection of old arms in the moſque of the Derviſes, a league above Cairo, on the banks of the Nile.

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it properly, they take care only to uſe the lime when boiling; they mix with it one third of ſand, and another of aſhes and pounded brickduſt. With this compoſition they form wells, ciſterns, and vaults, which the water cannot paſs through. I have ſeen a ſingular ſpecies of the latter in Paleſtine that deſerve to be deſcribed. The vault is built with cylinders of brick, eight or ten inches long. Theſe cylinders are hollow, and may be about two inches diameter within. They are in a ſlight degree tapering, the wideſt end is cloſed, the other open. To form the roof, they are ranged by the ſide of each other, with the cloſe end expoſed to the weather: they are faſtened with plaiſter of Jeruſalem or Nablous, and four workmen can compleat the roof of a chamber in a day. The firſt rains uſually penetrate it; but a coat of oil is then laid over it, which effectually keeps the water out. The cracks within-ſide are cloſed by a layer of plaiſter, and the whole forms a durable and very light roof. With theſe cylinders they build the walls at the edges of the terraces on the houſe tops, throughout Syria, to prevent the women, who waſh and dry their linen there, from being

ſeen. The uſe of them has been lately introduced at Paris; but the invention is of great antiquity in the eaſt

We may affirm the ſame of the manner of working the iron mines in Lebanon, on account of its great ſimplicity. It is the method now employed in the Pyrenees, and known under the name of the *Catalonian Forge*. The furnace conſiſts in a ſort of chimney formed in the ſide of a ſteep declivity. The funnel is filled with wood; which is ſet fire to; the bellows is applied to the inferior mouth, and the iron ore poured in from above; the metal falls to the bottom, and is taken out by the ſame mouth at which the fire is lighted. Even their ingenious wooden ſliding locks may be traced back to the time of Solomon, who mentions them in his ſong.

To their muſic we muſt not aſcribe ſo high an antiquity. It does not appear to have an earlier origin than the age of the Caliphs, under whom the Arabs applied themſelves to it with the more ardour, as all the learned men of that day added the title of Muſician, to that of Phyſician, Geometrician and Aſtronomer; yet, as its principles were borrowed

ed from the Greeks, it might afford matter of curious obſervation to adepts in that ſcience. Such perſons are very rarely to be met with in the eaſt. Cairo is perhaps the only place in Egypt or in Syria, where there are a few Shaiks who underſtand the principles of the art. They have collections of airs which are not noted in our manner, but written in characters, all the names of which are Perſian. They have no muſic but vocal; for they neither know nor eſteem inſtrumental, and they are in the right; for ſuch inſtruments as they have, not excepting their flutes, are deteſtable. They are ſtrangers likewiſe to any other accompaniment than the uniſon, and the continued baſe of the Monochord. They are fond of ſinging with a forced voice in the high tones, and one muſt have lungs like theirs to ſupport the effort for a quarter of an hour. Their airs, in point of character and execution, reſemble nothing we have heard in Europe, except the Seguidillas of the Spaniards. They have diviſions more laboured even than thoſe of the Italians, and cadences and inflections of tones impoſſible to be imitated by European throats. Their performance is accompanied with ſighs and

geſtures, which paint the paſſions in a more lively manner than we ſhould venture to allow. They may be ſaid to excel moſt in the melancholy ſtrain. To behold an Arab with his head inclined, his hand applied to his ear, his eyebrows knit, his eyes languiſhing; to hear his plaintive tones, his lengthened notes, his ſighs and ſobs, it is almoſt impoſſible to refrain from tears, which, as their expreſſion is, are far from bitter: and indeed they muſt certainly find a pleaſure in ſhedding them, ſince among all their ſongs, they conſtantly prefer that which excites them moſt, as among all accompliſhments ſinging is that they moſt admire.

Dancing, which with us holds an equal rank with muſic, is far from being held in the ſame eſtimation by the Arabs. This art, among them, is branded with a kind of ſhame; a man cannot practiſe it without diſhonour (*r*), and the exerciſe of it is only permitted to women. This judgment will appear to us ſevere, but before we condemn it, it muſt be conſidered, that in the eaſtern

(*r*) The ſacred dance of the Derviſes, the motions of which are ſuppoſed to imitate the revolutions of the ſtars, muſt be excepted.

world,

world, dancing is not an imitation of war, as among the Greeks, nor a combination of graceful attitudes and movements, as with us; but a licentious imitation of the utmoſt wantonneſs of love. This is the ſpecies of dance which, brought from Carthage to Rome, announced the decline of her republican manners, and which, ſince revived in Spain by the Arabs, ſtill ſubſiſts there under the title of the *Fandango*. Notwithſtanding the freedom of our manners, it would be difficult, without wounding the ear, accurately to deſcribe it: it will be ſufficient to ſay that the female dancer, with her arms extended, and an empaſſioned air, ſinging and accompanying her ſong with caſtanets, which ſhe holds between her fingers, executes, without changing her place, all thoſe motions of the body which paſſion itſelf carefully conceals under the veil of night. Such is their licentiouſneſs, that none but proſtitutes venture to dance in public. Thoſe who make a profeſſion of it are called *Rawazi*, and thoſe who excel, aſſume the name of *Alma*, or proficients in the art. The moſt celebrated are thoſe of Cairo. A late traveller, (M. Savary,) has drawn a flattering picture of them; but I con-

I confeſs the originals did not produce the ſame enthuſiaſm in me. Theſe Alma, with their yellow linen, their tawny ſkins, their naked pendent breaſts, their blackened eye-laſhes, their blue lips, and their hands ſtained with henna, only reminded me of the *Bacchantes* of the *Porcherons (f)*; and if we reflect that, even among the moſt poliſhed nations, this claſs of women retain not a little vulgarity, it is not credible, that among a people, where the moſt ſimple arts are ſtill in a ſtate of barbariſm, they can ſhew much refinement and delicacy in one which requires the moſt.

The intimate connection between the arts and ſciences, leaves no room to doubt that the latter are ſtill more neglected, or, to confeſs the truth, totally unknown. The barbariſm of Syria, as well as that of Egypt, is compleat; and, from the ſimilarity which is uſually found in the different provinces of the ſame empire, we may form the like judgment of all the countries under the dominion of the Turks. In vain have ſome perſons denied this aſſer-

(*f*) Wine-houſes without Paris, and free from the city duties; the reſort of the populace. The idea, might, perhaps, be better conveyed by the term *Bacchantes of Billinſgate.*

tion;

tion; in vain do they talk of *colleges, places of education, and books:* theſe words in Turkey convey not the ſame ideas as with us. The age of the Caliphs is paſt among the Arabs, and yet to begin among the Turks. Theſe two nations have at preſent neither geometricians, aſtronomers, muſicians, nor phyſicians. Scarcely can we meet with one of the latter who knows how to bleed with a fleam; when they have ordered a cautery, applied fire, or preſcribed ſome common recipe, their knowledge is exhauſted: and, conſequently, the valet de chambre of an European is conſulted as an Eſculapius. Where indeed ſhould phyſicians be formed, ſince there are no eſtabliſhments of the kind, and anatomy is directly repugnant to the prejudices of their religion? Aſtronomy might gain more admirers, but by aſtronomy they underſtand only the art of diſcovering the decrees of fate by the motions of the ſtars, and not the profound ſcience of calculating their revolutions. The monks of Mar-Hanna, who are poſſeſſed of books, and maintain a correſpondence with Rome, are not leſs ignorant than the reſt. Never, before my arrival among them, had they heard that the earth turned round the ſun;

ſun; and this opinion was very near giving great offence to the brotherhood; for the zealots, finding that it contradicted the Holy Bible, were inclined to treat me as a heretic. Fortunately the Vicar General had good ſenſe enough to doubt, and to ſay: "Without "blindly crediting the Franks, we muſt not "too haſtily deny all they aſſert; for every "thing they bring us, the produce of their "arts, is ſo infinitely ſuperior to our own, "that they may poſſibly diſcover things "which are beyond our ideas." I eſcaped by not taking the blame of this novel hypotheſis on myſelf, but reſtoring the diſcovery to our modern philoſophers, who are eſteemed by the monks, even at this day, as Viſionaries.

A great difference then ſhould be made between the preſent Arabs, and thoſe of the times of El-Mamoun, and Aroun-el-Raſchid, and it muſt be admitted that, even of them, we have formed very extravagant ideas. Their empire was too ſoon deſtroyed to ſuffer them to make any great progreſs in the ſciences. What we ſee happen in our days in ſome of the European ſtates, proves that they require ages to become eſtabliſhed

in any country. And from what we know of the Arabian writers, do we not conſtantly find them either the tranſlators, or echos of the Greeks? The only ſcience which is peculiar to them, and the only one they continue to cultivate, is that of their own language; but, by the ſtudy of language, we muſt not underſtand that philoſophical ſpirit of reſearch which, in words, inveſtigates the hiſtory of ideas, in order to perfect the art by which they are communicated. Among the Mahometans, the ſtudy of the Arabic is only cultivated on account of its connection with religion; and this is in fact very confined, for the Koran is "the immediate word of God:" but, as this word only retains the identity of its nature, ſo far as it correſponds with the meaning of God and his prophet, it is a matter of the greateſt moment to learn, not only the exact ſignification of the words employed, but, likewiſe, the accents, inflexions, ſighs and pauſes, in ſhort, all the moſt minute niceties of proſody and pronunciation; and it is impoſſible to form an idea how complicated all this is without having heard their declamation in the Moſques. As for the principles of the language, thoſe of the grammar alone take

take ſeveral years to acquire. Next is taught the *Nakou*, a part of grammar which may be defined, the ſcience of terminations foreign to the vulgar Arabic, which are ſuperadded to words, and vary according to the numbers, caſes, genders, and perſons. When this is attained, the ſtudent is reckoned among the learned. Eloquence is next to be ſtudied, and that requires whole years; for the maſters, myſterious like the Brachmans, diſcover the ſecrets of their art only by degrees. At length, they proceed to the ſtudy of the law and the *Fakah*, or *Science, per excellentiam*, by which they mean theology. Now, if we conſider that the perpetual object of theſe ſtudies is always the Koran, and that it is neceſſary thoroughly to be acquainted with all the myſtical and allegorical ſignifications aſcribed to it, and to read all the commentaries and paraphraſes upon it, of which there are two hundred volumes on the firſt verſe; if we reflect that it is requiſite to diſpute on thouſands of ridiculous caſes of conſcience; ſuch as, if it be allowable to mix mortar with impure water; whether a man who has an iſſue be not in the caſe of a defiled woman; as alſo to be able to diſcuſs the various queſtions, whether

whether the ſoul of the prophet was not created before that of Adam; whether he did not counſel God in the creation; and what was the counſel he gave; it cannot but be allowed, that one may paſs one's whole life-time in learning a great deal, and knowing nothing.

As for the inſtruction beſtowed on the vulgar, as the profeſſors of the law do not perform the function of our vicars and prieſts, as they neither preach, nor catechiſe, nor confeſs, it may be pronounced that they receive none. All the education of children conſiſts in attending private maſters, who teach them to read the Koran, if they are Mahometans, or the Pſalms, if Chriſtians, and a little writing, and reckoning from memory: this continues till they arrive almoſt at manhood, when each of them chuſes ſome profeſſion, in order to marry and gain a livelihood. The contagion of ignorance infects even the children of the Franks, and it is a maxim at Marſeilles, that a *Levantin* muſt be a diſſipated youth, idle, and without emulation, and whoſe whole knowledge will be confined to being able to ſpeak ſeveral languages,

guages, though this rule, like all others, has its exceptions.

In examining the cauſes of the general ignorance of the Orientals, I ſhall not ſay with a late traveller, that it ariſes from the difficulties of the language, and of reading and writing. Undoubtedly the difficulty of the dialects, the perplexity of the characters, and the defects of their alphabet, multiply the obſtacles to inſtruction. But habit ſurmounts them, and the Arabs attain as perfect a facility in writing and reading as the Europeans themſelves. The real cauſe is the few means of inſtruction they poſſeſs, among which muſt be firſt reckoned the ſcarcity of books. With us nothing is ſo common as this valuable aſſiſtance; nothing ſo general among all ranks as the practice of reading. In the Eaſt, on the contrary, nothing is ſo rare. There are but two libraries throughout Syria, that of Marhanna, of which I have ſpoken, and that of Djezzar at Acre. The reader has ſeen how inſignificant the former is, both with reſpect to the number and the choice of its books. I ſhall not ſpeak of the latter as an eye witneſs; but two perſons who have ſeen it have aſſured me, that it did not contain more than three hundred

dred volumes; yet theſe are the ſpoils of all Syria, and, among others, of the Convent of St. Sauveur, near Saide, and of the Shaik Kairi, Mufti of Ramla. At Aleppo, the houſe of Bitar is the only one which poſſeſſes any books, and thoſe are aſtronomical, which nobody underſtands. At Damaſcus the lawyers hold even their own ſcience in no eſtimation. Cairo alone is rich in books. There is a collection of very ancient ones at the Moſque of El-azhar, and a conſiderable number is in daily circulation; but Chriſtians are forbid to touch them. Twelve years ago, however, the monks of Mar-Hanna, deſirous of procuring ſome, ſent one of their number thither to purchaſe them. By a fortunate accident he got acquainted with an Effendi, with whom he became a favourite, and who, wiſhing to obtain from him ſome leſſons in aſtrology, in which he thought him an adept, procured him ſome books. In the ſpace of ſix months, this monk aſſured me, that upwards of two hundred paſſed through his hands; and on my enquiring on what ſubjects, he replied, treatiſes on grammar, the Nahou, eloquence, and the interpretation of the Koran; but very few hiſtories; or even

tales. He had never ſeen two copies of the Arabian Nights Entertainments. From this ſtate of facts, we are certainly authorized to affirm, not only that there is a ſcarcity of good books in the Eaſt, but that books of any kind are very rare. The reaſon of this is evident. In theſe countries every book is a manuſcript; the writing of which is neceſſarily ſlow, difficult, and expenſive. The labour of many months produces but one copy. That muſt be without eraſure, and is liable to be deſtroyed by a thouſand accidents. It is impoſſible therefore for books to multiply, and conſequently for knowledge to be propagated. If we compare this ſtate of things with what paſſes among ourſelves, we cannot but be deeply impreſſed with the advantages of printing. We ſhall even be convinced, on reflexion, that this art alone is poſſibly the main ſpring of thoſe great revolutions, which, within the laſt three centuries, have taken place in the moral ſyſtem of Europe. The preſs, by rendering books common, has diffuſed a more equal ſhare of knowledge through every claſs; and, by rapidly communicating ideas and diſcoveries, has produced a more ſpeedy im-

provement and more univerſal acquaintance with the arts and ſciences. By its means, all thoſe who occupy themſelves in literary purſuits, are become a body perpetually aſſembled, who purſue without intermiſſion the ſame labours. By printing, every writer is become a public orator, who addreſſes himſelf not only to his city, but to his nation, and to all Europe. If in this new ſpecies of popular aſſembly he has loſt the advantage of declamation and geſture to excite the paſſions, he is amply indemnified by that of having a more ſelect audience, and being able to reaſon with more temperance, and if the impreſſion he makes be leſs lively, it is certainly more durable. Since the diſcovery of the art of printing, therefore, ſingle men have been ſeen to produce, by the mere effects of their writings, moral revolutions in whole nations, and have obtained an influence over the minds of men, which has even awed and controuled the authority of the reigning powers.

Another very remarkable effect of the preſs, is that which it has had on hiſtory. By giving a general and rapid publicity to facts, it has rendered their certainty more eaſy to be

aſcertained; whereas, when books were written by hand, the collection made by one man, producing only one copy, could be ſeen and criticized by only a very ſmall number of readers; and theſe readers are the more to be ſuſpected, as they muſt depend on the choice of the author. If he ſhould permit copies to be taken, they multiply and ſpread very ſlowly. In the mean time witneſſes drop off; proofs, which might once have been produced, loſe their force; contradictions ſtart up, and a wide field is opened to error, paſſion, and miſrepreſentation. This is the cauſe of all thoſe monſtrous relations with which the hiſtories of antiquity, as well as thoſe of Modern Aſia, abound. If among thoſe hiſtories we find ſome which bear ſtriking marks of probability, they are thoſe whoſe writers were either eye-witneſſes of the facts they relate, or public men who wrote to an enlightened people, able to contradict them whenever they departed from truth. Such was Cæſar, the principal actor in the events related in his own memoirs; ſuch was Xenophon, the general of the ten thouſand, whoſe able retreat he has ſo well deſcribed: ſuch was Polybius, the friend and companion of Scipio, the

the conqueror of Carthage: ſuch alſo were Salluſt and Tacitus, who had been conſuls: Thucidides, the commander of an army, and Herodotus, ſenator, and deliverer of Halicarnaſſus. When hiſtory, on the contrary, is only a collection of ancient events, delivered down by tradition; when theſe facts are merely collected by individuals, it is neither of the ſame ſpecies, nor does it bear the ſame character. How great is the difference between the preceding writers and Livy, Quintus Curtius, and Diodorus Siculus! Fortunately, however, for them, the countries in which they wrote were civilized, and public information might ſerve to guide them reſpecting recent facts. But when nations were in a ſtate of anarchy, or groaning under ſuch a deſpotiſm as prevails at this day in the eaſt, writers, abſorbed in that ignorance and credulity which ever accompany ſuch a ſtate, might boldly commit their errors and prejudices to hiſtory; and we may remark, that it is in the productions of ſuch ages and nations that we meet with all the monſters of fiction, while in poliſhed periods, and in the hands of original writers, the annals of hiſtory only preſent us with a nar-

rative of facts ſimilar to thoſe which are daily paſſing before our eyes.

This influence of the preſs is ſo efficacious, that the eſtabliſhment of Mar-Hanna alone, imperfect as it is, has already produced a ſenſible difference among the Chriſtians. The art of reading and writing, and even a ſort of information, are more common among them at preſent, than they were thirty years ago. Unfortunately their outſet has been of that kind, which long retarded the progreſs of improvement, and excited innumerable diſorders in Europe. For bibles and religious books being the firſt which proceeded from the preſs, the general attention was turned towards theological diſcuſſions, whence reſulted a fermentation which was the ſource of the Schiſms of England and Germany, and the unhappy political troubles of France. If inſtead of tranſlating their Buzembaum, and the miſanthropical reveries of Nieremberg and Didaco Stella, the Jeſuits had printed and diſperſed books of practical morality and public utility, adapted to the ſtate of the Keſraouan and the Druzes, their labours might have produced in thoſe countries, and even through all Syria, political conſequences which

which might eventually have changed their whole ſyſtem. At preſent, all hope of ſuch improvement is over, or at leaſt greatly retarded; the firſt fervor has been ſpent on uſeleſs objects. Beſides, the monks are poor, and if Djezzar takes it into his head, he will deſtroy their preſs. To this he will probably be induced by the fanaticiſm of the profeſſors of the law, who, without very well knowing what they have to dread from the preſs, have, notwithſtanding, conceived an averſion to it; as if folly poſſeſſed the natural inſtinct of divining what may prove its deſtruction.

The ſcarcity of books, and the want of the means of information, are then, as I have juſt ſaid, the cauſes of the ignorance of the Orientals; but theſe muſt, after all, be regarded merely as acceſſaries: the radical ſource is ſtill in the government, which not only does not encourage the propagation of knowledge, but exerts every effort to ſtifle it in the birth. Under the adminiſtration of the Turks, there is no proſpect of obtaining rank or fortune through the channel of the arts and ſciences, or polite literature. The talents of the moſt diſtinguiſhed geometri-

cians, aſtronomers, or engineers of Europe, would not preſerve their poſſeſſor from languiſhing in obſcurity, or groaning beneath the perſecution of tyranny. If ſcience, therefore, which itſelf is acquired with ſo much difficulty and labour, can only make us regret its inutility, and even expoſe us to danger, it is better never to poſſeſs it. For this reaſon, the Orientals are ignorant, and muſt neceſſarily be ſo, from the ſame principle which makes them poor, as they may apply with juſtice to ſcience, what they ſay of the arts: "What good purpoſe will it anſwer to "do more?"

CHAP.

## CHAP. XL.

### *Of the manners and character of the inhabitants of Syria.*

OF all the ſubjects of obſervation any country affords, the moral character of its inhabitants is unqueſtionably the moſt important; but it muſt likewiſe be acknowledged, it is at the ſame time the moſt difficult: for it is not ſufficient to make a barren enquiry into facts; the eſſential object is to inveſtigate their various cauſes and relations; to diſcover the open or ſecret, the remote or immediate ſprings, which produce in men thoſe habits of action we call manners, and that uniform diſpoſition of mind we name character. Now, to ſucceed in ſuch an enquiry, it is neceſſary to communicate with the men we wiſh to know; we muſt place ourſelves in their ſituations, in order to feel by what they are influenced, and the conſequences which reſult; we muſt live in their country, learn their language, and adopt their cuſtoms; conditions ſeldom complied with by travellers; and which,

which, even when they are, ſtill leave to be ſurmounted numerous difficulties, which ariſe from the nature of the thing itſelf; for we have not only to combat the prejudices we may meet in our way, but to overcome our own; againſt which we can never be ſufficiently on our guard, habits are powerful, facts liable to be miſtaken, and error eaſy. The obſerver, then, ſhould be circumſpect though not timid, and the reader, obliged to ſee with the eyes of others, ſhould watch attentively both the reaſoning of his guide, and the deductions he may be inclined to draw himſelf.

When an European arrives in Syria, or indeed in any part of the eaſtern world, what appears moſt extraordinary to him, in the exterior of the inhabitants, is the almoſt total oppoſition of their manners to our own: it ſeems as if ſome premeditated deſign had determined to produce an infinity of the moſt ſtriking contraſts between the people of Aſia and thoſe of Europe. We wear ſhort and cloſe dreſſes; theirs are long and ample. We ſuffer our hair to grow, and ſhave the beard; they let the beard grow, and ſhave the head. With us, to uncover the head is a mark

a mark of reſpect; with them, a naked head is a ſign of folly. We ſalute in an inclined poſture; they upright. We paſs our lives erect; they are almoſt continually ſeated. They ſit and eat upon the ground; we upon raiſed ſeats. With reſpect to language, likewiſe, their manner of writing is directly contrary to ours, and the greateſt part of our maſculine nouns are feminine with them. To the bulk of travellers theſe contraſts only appear whimſical; but it may be intereſting to philoſophers, to enquire into the cauſes of ſo great a diverſity of habits, in men who have the ſame wants, and in nations which appear to have one common origin.

Another diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic, no leſs remarkable, is that religious exterior obſervable in the countenances, converſation, and geſtures of the inhabitants of Turkey. In the ſtreets, every one appears with his ſtring of beads. We hear nothing but emphatical exclamations of *Ya Allah!* O God! *Allah akbar!* God moſt great! *Allah taala*, God moſt high! every inſtant the ear is ſtruck with a profound ſigh, or noiſy eructation which follows the pronouncing of ſome one of the ninety-nine epithes of God; ſuch

as

as *Ya rani!* Source of riches! *Ya ſobhan!* O moſt to be praiſed! *Ya maſtour!* O impenetrable! If a man ſells bread in the ſtreets, he does not cry bread, but exclaims *Allah kerim*, God is liberal. If he ſells water, he cries, *Allah djawad*, God is generous; and ſo of other articles. The uſual form of ſalutation is, *God preſerve thee*; and of thanks, *God protect thee:* in a word, God is in every thing, and every where. Theſe men then are very devout, ſays the reader? Yes, but without being the better in conſequence of this devotion, for I have already obſerved, their zeal is no other than a ſpirit of jealouſy and contradiction, ariſing from the diverſity of religions; ſince in the Chriſtian a profeſſion of his faith is a bravado, an act of independence; and in the Mahometan, an act of ſuperiority and power. This devoutneſs, therefore, merely the offspring of pride and profound ignorance, is no better than a fanatic ſuperſtition, and the ſource of innumerable diſorders.

There is ſtill another characteriſtic in the exterior of the Orientals, which attracts the attention of an obſerver: I mean their grave and phlegmatic air in every thing they do,

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or ſay. Inſtead of that open and cheerful countenance, which we either naturally poſſeſs or aſſume, their behaviour is ſerious, auſtere, and melancholy; they rarely laugh, and the gaiety of the French appears to them a fit of delirium. When they ſpeak, it is with deliberation, without geſtures, and without paſſion; they liſten without interrupting you; they are ſilent for whole days together, and by no means pique themſelves on ſupporting converſation. If they walk, it is always leiſurely, and on buſineſs; they have no idea of our troubleſome activity, and our *walks* backwards and forwards for amuſement. Continually ſeated, they paſs whole days muſing, with their legs croſſed, their pipes in their mouths, and almoſt without changing their attitude. It ſhould ſeem as if motion were a puniſhment to them, and that, like the Indians, they regard inaction as eſſential to happineſs.

This obſervation, which may be extended to the greater part of their habits and cuſtoms, has, in our time, given occaſion to a very ſummary ſyſtem of the cauſes of the peculiar character of the Orientals, and ſeveral other nations. A celebrated writer, reflecting

on what the Greeks and Romans have ſaid of Aſiatic effeminacy, and the accounts given by travellers of the indolence of the Indians, is of opinion, that this indolence forms the diſtinguiſhing character of the inhabitants of thoſe countries; purſuing his enquiries into the common cauſe of this general fact, and finding, that all theſe nations inhabit what are called *hot countries*, he has attributed the cauſe of their indolence to heat; and aſſuming the fact as a principle, has laid it down as an axiom, that the inhabitants of hot countries muſt neceſſarily be indolent, inert of body, and from analogy, likewiſe inert of mind and character. He goes even ſtill farther; remarking, that unlimited monarchy is the moſt uſual form of government among theſe nations; and conſidering deſpotiſm as the effect of the ſupineneſs of a people, he concludes, that deſpotiſm is as much the natural government of theſe countries, and as neceſſary as the climate under which they live. It ſhould ſeem as if the ſeverity, or, more properly ſpeaking, the barbarity of the inference ſhould have put men upon their guard againſt ſuch erroneous principles: yet this ſyſtem has been received with great applauſe

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in France, nay, even throughout Europe; and the opinion of the author of the *Spirit of Laws*, is become among the moſt numerous claſs of reaſoners, an authority from which it is preſumptuous to differ. This is not the place to write a formal treatiſe completely to overthrow this error: beſides that ſuch a refutation already exiſts in the work of a philoſopher, whoſe name is at leaſt equal to that of Monteſquieu. But in order to raiſe ſome doubts at leaſt in the minds of thoſe who, without giving themſelves time to reflect, have adopted this opinion, I ſhall offer a few objections which the ſubject naturally ſuggeſts.

The doctrine of the general indolence of the Oriental and ſouthern nations, is founded on that opinion of Aſiatic effeminacy originally tranſmitted to us by the Greeks and Romans; but what are the facts on which that was built? Were they fixed and determinate, or did this opinion rely on vague and general ideas like the ſyſtems of the moderns? Had the ancients a more accurate knowledge of thoſe countries in their time, than we have obtained in ours; and are we juſtified in founding on their report an hypotheſis difficult to eſtabliſh from our own

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more minute examination? but, admitting the facts as we receive them from hiſtory, were the Aſſyrians, whoſe ambition and wars during five hundred years, threw Aſia into confuſion; the Medes, who ſhook off their yoke, and diſpoſſeſſed them; the Perſians who, under Cyrus, within the ſpace of thirty years, extended their conqueſts from the Indus to the Mediterranean; were theſe inert and indolent people? May we not oppoſe to this ſyſtem the Phœnicians, who, for ſo many centuries, were in poſſeſſion of the commerce of the whole ancient world; the Palmyrenians, of whoſe induſtry we poſſeſs ſuch ſtupendous monuments; the Carduchi of Xenophon, who braved the power of the *Great King* in the very heart of his empire; the Parthians, thoſe unconquerable rivals of Rome; and even the Jews, who, limited to a little ſtate, never ceaſed to ſtruggle, for a thouſand years, againſt the moſt powerful empires? if the men of theſe nations were inert, what is activity? If they were active, where then is the influence of climate? Why in the ſame countries, where ſo much energy was diſplayed in former times, do we at preſent find ſuch profound indolence? Why are the modern

modern Greeks ſo debaſed amid the very ruins of Sparta and Athens, and in the fields of Marathon and Thermopylæ? Will it be alleged, that the climate has changed? Where are the proofs? Suppoſing this true, it muſt have changed by irregular fits; the climate of Perſia muſt have altered greatly from Cyrus to Xerxes; that of Athens from Ariſtides to Demetrius Phalereus; and that of Rome from Scipio to Sylla, and from Sylla to Tiberius. The climate of the Portugueze muſt have changed ſince the days of Albuquerque, and that of the Turks ſince Soliman? If indolence be peculiar to the ſouthern countries, how are we to account for a Carthage in Africa, Rome in Italy, and the Buccaneers at St. Domingo? Why do we meet with the Malays in India, and the Bedouins in Arabia? Why, too, at the ſame period, and under the ſame ſky, do we find a Sybaris near Crotona, a Capua in the vicinity of Rome, and a Sardes contiguous to Miletus? Whence is it, that we ſee, under our own eyes, and in Europe itſelf, northern governments as languid as thoſe of the ſouth? Why, in our own empire, are the ſouthern more active than the northern provinces? If the ſame effects are

obſervable under directly contrary circumſtances, and different effects under the ſame circumſtances, what becomes of theſe pretended principles? What is this influence of climate? and what is to be underſtood by activity? Is it only to be accorded to warlike nations? and was Sparta, when not engaged in war, to be eſteemed inert? What do we mean by hot countries? Where are we to draw the line of cold and temperate? Let the partiſans of Monteſquieu aſcertain this, that we may henceforward be enabled to determine the quantity of energy in a nation by the temperature, and at what degree of the thermometer we are to fix its aptitude to ſlavery or freedom!

But a phyſical obſervation has been called in to corroborate this poſition; and we are told that heat abates our ſtrength; we are more indolent in ſummer than in winter: the inhabitants of hot countries, therefore, muſt be indolent. Let us ſuppoſe this true, Whence is it then, that, under the ſame influence of climate, the tyrant poſſeſſes more energy to oppreſs, than the people to defend themſelves? But, is it not evident that we reaſon like the inhabitants of a country where cold

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is more prevalent than heat? Were a ſimilar theſis to be maintained in Egypt and Africa, it would there be ſaid, the cold prevents motion, and obſtructs the circulation. The truth is, that our ſenſations are relative to our habits, and that bodies aſſume a temperament analagous to the climate in which they live; ſo that they are only affected by the extremes of the ordinary medium. We hate ſweating; the Egyptian loves it, and dreads nothing ſo much as a failure of perſpiration. Thus, whether we refer to hiſtorical, or natural facts, the ſyſtem of Monteſquieu, ſo ſpecious at firſt ſight, turns out, when examined, to be a mere paradox, which has owed its ſucceſs only to the impreſſion made by the novelty of the ſubject, at the time the Spirit of Laws appeared, and the indirect flattery it offered to thoſe nations by which it was ſo favourably received.

To give preciſion to our ideas, reſpecting the queſtion of activity, a ſhorte and more certain method than theſe far-fetched and equivocal reaſonings would have been, to have ſtudied nature herſelf, and to have examined the origin and motives of activity in man. If we purſue this mode of inveſtiga-

tion, we ſhall perceive that all action, whether of body or mind, has its ſource in our neceſſities; and augments as they increaſe. We may follow its gradations from the rudeſt beginnings, to the ſtate of the moſt mature improvement. In man yet ſavage, hunger and thirſt awaken the firſt exertions of the ſoul and body. Theſe are the wants which prompt him to run, ſearch, watch, and employ cunning or violence, as he finds them neceſſary: all his activity depends on the means of providing for his ſubſiſtence. Is that eaſily obtained, has he fruit, game and fiſh, within his reach, he is leſs active, ſince by putting forth his hand, he can ſatisfy himſelf; and being ſatisfied, nothing excites him to motion, till the experience of various enjoyments has awakened in him deſires which become new wants, and new motives of activity. On the other hand, are the means of ſupplying his neceſſities difficult to be obtained; is game hard to be found, and poſſeſſed of agility to avoid him; are the fiſh wily, and do the fruits ſoon decay; man is forced to be more active; he muſt exerciſe his body and his mind, to maintain life; he muſt become ſwift like the beaſts, wily like the fiſh, and provident to

preſerve his fruits; he muſt endeavour the improvement of his natural faculties. He, therefore, beſtirs himſelf, he thinks, he meditates; he conceives the idea of bending the branch of a tree to form a bow, and pointing a reed to make an arrow, he faſtens a handle to a ſharp ſtone, and procures him a hatchet; he then labours to make nets, to fell trees, to hollow out their trunks, and build canoes. Already has he provided for his moſt urgent neceſſites; already the experience of a multitude of ſenſations has made him acquainted with enjoyments and ſufferings; and his activity is redoubled to remove the one, and multiply the other. He has felt the pleaſure of being ſhaded from the heat of the Sun; he builds himſelf a cabin: he has experienced, that a ſkin ſecures him from the cold; he makes himſelf clothing: he has taſted brandy and ſmoaked tobacco; he likes them, and wiſhes to have more; but to procure them he muſt bring beavers ſkins, elephants teeth, gold duſt, &c. He redoubles his activity, and carries his induſtry ſo far as to kill even his fellow creature. In ſuch a progreſs, as in the primary cauſe, it muſt be acknowledged, that activity has little or no

connection with heat; only the inhabitants of the north being reputed to ſtand more in need of nouriſhment than thoſe of the ſouth, it may be alleged, that they muſt conſequently be poſſeſſed of more activity; but this difference in neceſſary wants, has very narrow limits. Beſides, it is well aſcertained, that an Eſquimaux or a Samoyede, requires really a greater quantity of aliment, than a Bedouin or an Ichthyophagus of Perſia? Are the ſavages of Brazil and Guinea leſs voracious than thoſe of Canada and California? Let my opponents beware: the facility of obtaining a great quantity of food, is perhaps the primary cauſe of voraciouſneſs; and this facility, eſpecially in a ſavage ſtate, depends leſs on climate than on the nature of the ſoil, and its richneſs or poverty in paſturage, in foreſts, and in lakes, and conſequently in game, fiſh, and fruits; circumſtances which are found indifferently under every parallel.

From theſe reflections it appears that the nature of the ſoil has a real influence on activity. We muſt perceive, that in the ſocial as in the ſavage ſtate, a country, in which the means of ſubſiſtence are ſomewhat difficult to be procured, will have more active, and more induſtrious

induſtrious inhabitants; while in another where nature has laviſhed every thing, the people will be indolent and inactive. And this is perfectly conformable to hiſtorical fact; for we always find the conquering nations poor, and iſſuing from lands either barren, or difficult of cultivation, while the conquered people are inhabitants of fertile and opulent countries. It is even worthy of obſervation, that theſe needy conquerors, eſtabliſhed among rich nations, ſhortly loſe their enegy, and become effeminate. Such was the caſe with the Perſians, who, under Cyrus, deſcended from the Elymais, into the fertile fields watered by the Euphrates; ſuch were the Macedonians under Alexander, when tranſplanted from Mount Rhodope to the plains of Aſia; ſuch the Tartars of Djenkis-kan, when ſettled in China and Bengal; and ſuch the Arabs ſo victorious under Mahomet, after the conqueſt of Spain and Egypt. Hence we may affirm, that it is not as inhabitants of hot, but as inhabitants of rich, countries that nations are inclined to indolence; and this maxim is exactly conformable with what we obſerve in ſociety in general, ſince we ſee there is always leaſt activity among the more opulent claſſes; but as this ſa-

tiety and poverty do not exiſt for all the individuals of a nation, we muſt recur to reaſons more general, and more efficacious, than the nature of the ſoil; I mean the ſocial inſtitutions, called *Government* and *Religion*. Theſe are the true ſources and regulators of the activity or indolence of individuals, and nations. Theſe are the efficient cauſes, which, as they extend or limit the natural or ſuperfluous wants, limit or extend the activity of all men. A proof that their influence operates in ſpite of the difference of climate and ſoil, is, that Tyre, Carthage, and Alexandria, formerly poſſeſſed the ſame induſtry as London, Paris, and Amſterdam; that the Buccaneers, and the Malayans have diſplayed equal turbulence and courage with the Normans; and that the Ruſſians and Polanders have the apathy and indifference of the Hindoos, and the negroes. But as civil and religious inſtitutions are perpetually varied and changed by the paſſions of men, their influence changes and varies in very ſhort intervals of time. Hence it is, that the Romans, commanded by Scipio, rembled ſo little thoſe governed by Tiberius; and that the Greeks, of the age of Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, were ſo unlike thoſe of the

the time of Conſtantine. Let us examine what paſſes within ourſelves. Do we not experience, that our activity has leſs dependence on phyſical cauſes, than the actual circumſtances of the ſociety of which we are members? Are our deſires excited by neceſſary or ſuperfluous wants, both our bodies and minds are animated with new life; paſſion inſpires us with an activity ardent as our deſires, and perſevering as our hopes. Are theſe hopes diſappointed, deſire decays, activity languiſhes, and diſcouragement induces apathy and indolence. This explains why our activity varies with our conditions, our ſituations, and the different periods of our life. Why does the man, who was active in his youth, become indolent in his old age? Why is there more activity in capital and commercial cities, than in towns without commerce, and in the country? To awaken activity there muſt be objects of deſire; and to maintain it, the hope of arriving at enjoyment. If theſe two eſſentials are wanting, there is an end to individual and national activity. And ſuch is the condition of the Orientals in general, and particularly of thoſe of whom we are treating. What ſhould induce them to move, if no motion procures them

them the hope of an enjoyment equivalent to the trouble they muſt take? How can they be otherwiſe than indolent in their moſt ſimple habits, if their ſocial inſtiſtutions render it a ſort of neceſſity?

The moſt intelligent obſerver of antiquity, after having made the ſame remark on the Aſiatics of his time, has aſſigned the ſame reaſon. "As to the effeminacy and indo-"lence of the Aſiatics, (ſays he in a paſſage "which well deſerves to be cited) *(t)*, if "they are leſs warlike, and more gentle in "their manners than the Europeans, no "doubt the nature of their climate, more "temperate than ours, contributes greatly to "this difference. But we muſt not forget "the form of their governments, which are "all deſpotic, and ſubject to the arbitrary "will of their kings. Men who are not "permitted the enjoyment of their natural "rights, but whoſe paſſions are perpetually "under the guidance of their maſters, will "never be found courageous in battle. To "them the riſks and advantages of war are "by no means equal. Obliged to forſake

(t) *Hippocrates de aëre, locis et aquis.*

"their

" their friends, their country, their families;
" to ſupport cruel fatigues, and even death
" itſelf, what is the recompence of ſo many
" ſacrifices? Danger and death. Their maſters
" alone enjoy the booty and the ſpoils they
" have purchaſed with their blood. But let
" them combat in their own cauſe, and reap
" the reward of their victory, or feel the
" ſhame of their defeat, they will no longer
" be deficient in courage; and the truth of
" this is ſufficiently proved by both the
" Greeks and Barbarians, who, in thoſe
" countries, live under their own laws, and
" are free; for they are more courageous than
" any other race of men."

This is preciſely the character of the Orientals of our days; and what the Grecian philoſopher has ſaid of ſome particular tribes, who reſiſted the power of the Great king and his Satraps, correſponds exactly with what we have ſeen of the Druzes, the Maronites, the Curds, the Arabs, Shaik-Daher, and the Bedouins. It muſt be admitted, the moral character of nations, like that of individuals, chiefly depends on the ſocial ſtate in which they live; ſince it is true, that our actions are governed by our civil and religious laws, and

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ſince our habits are no more than a repetition of thoſe actions, and our character only the diſpoſition to act in ſuch a manner, under ſuch circumſtances, it evidently follows, that theſe muſt eſpecially depend on the nature of the government and religion. In all the obſervations I have made, I have never failed to remark the influence of theſe two cauſes operating more or leſs immediately. This will become ſtill clearer, when conſidered more circumſtantially.

I have ſaid that the Orientals, in general, have a grave and phlegmatic exterior, a ſtayed and almoſt liſtleſs deportment, and a ſerious, nay, even ſad and melancholy countenance. Were the climate or the ſoil the radical cauſe of this, the effect would be the ſame in every individual. But that is not the caſe: Under this general character, there are a thouſand peculiar minute varieties in different claſſes and individuals, ariſing from their ſituation, relative to the influence of government, which differs in its effects on theſe claſſes, and theſe individuals. Thus we obſerve that the peaſants ſubject to the Turks are more gloomy than thoſe of the tributary countries; that the inhabitants of the country are leſs gay than thoſe of the towns; and that

that thoſe on the coaſt are more cheerful than ſuch as dwell at a greater diſtance from it; that in the ſame town, the profeſſors of the law are more ſerious than the military, and theſe again more ſo than the people. We may even remark, that, in the great cities, the people have much of that diſſipated and careleſs air they uſually have with us; becauſe there, as well as here, inured to ſuffering from habit, and devoid of reflection from ignorance, they enjoy a kind of ſecurity. Having nothing to loſe, they are in no dread of being plundered. The merchant, on the contrary, lives in a ſtate of perpetual alarm, under the double apprehenſion of acquiring no more, and loſing what he poſſeſſes. He trembles leſt he ſhould attract the attention of rapacious authority, which would conſider an air of ſatisfaction as a proof of opulence, and the ſignal for extortion. The ſame dread prevails throughout the villages, where each peaſant is afraid of exciting the envy of his equals, and the avarice of the Aga and his ſoldiers. In ſuch a country, where the ſubject is perpetually watched by a deſpoiling government, he muſt aſſume a ſerious countenance for the ſame reaſon that he wears ragged clothes, and

and makes a public parade of eating cheeſe and olives. The ſame cauſe, though it has a leſs influence on the lawyers, is not, however, without its effect on them; but the inſolence in which they have been educated, and the pedantry of their manners, render it unneceſſary to aſſign any other.

With reſpect to their indolence, it is not ſurpriſing that the inhabitants of the cities and the country, fatigued with labour, ſhould have an inclination to repoſe. But it is remarkable, that when theſe people are once in action, they exert themſelves with a vivacity and ardour almoſt unknown in our climates. This is more particularly obſervable in the ſea ports and commercial towns. An European cannot but admire with what activity the ſailors, with their naked arms and legs, handle the oars, bend the ſails, and perform every manœuvre; with what ardour the porters unload a boat, and carry the heavieſt couffes (*u*). Always ſinging, and anſwering by couplets to one who directs their labour, they perform all their motions in cadence, and redouble their exertions by mak-

(*u*) Sacks made of ſtraw, greatly uſed in Aſia.

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ing them in time. It has been ſaid, on this ſubject, that the inhabitants of hot countries have a natural propenſity to muſic; but in what conſiſts its analogy with the climate? Would it not be more rational to ſay, that the hot countries we are acquainted with, having made a conſiderable progreſs in improvement and knowledge long before our cold climates, the people have retained ſome traces of the fine arts which were formerly cultivated among them. Our merchants frequently reproach this people, and eſpecially thoſe of the country, with not labouring ſo often, nor ſo long, as they are able. But why ſhould they labour beyond their wants, ſince the ſuperfluity of their induſtry would procure them no additional enjoyments? In many reſpects, a man of the lower claſs of people reſembles the ſavages; when he has expended his ſtrength in procuring a ſubſiſtence, he takes his repoſe; it is only by rendering that ſubſiſtence leſs difficult to acquire, and by exciting him with the temptation of preſent enjoyments, that he can be induced to exert an uniform activity; and we have ſeen, that the Turkiſh government is of a directly contrary tendency. As to the

ſedentary life of the natives, what motive has a man to be active in a country where the police has never thought either of laying out walks, or encouraging plantations; where there is no ſafety without the towns, nor pleaſure within their precincts; where every thing, in ſhort, invites to ſtay at home? Is it aſtoniſhing that ſuch political maxims ſhould have produced ſedentary habits? And muſt not theſe habits, in their turn, become the cauſes of inaction?

The compariſon of our civil and domeſtic ſtate, with that of the Orientals, will furniſh ſtill further reaſons for that phlegm which conſtitutes their general character. One of the chief ſources of gaiety with us, is the ſocial intercourſe of the table, and the uſe of wine. The Orientals are almoſt ſtrangers to this double enjoyment. Good cheer would infallibly expoſe them to extortion, and wine to a corporal puniſhment, from the zeal of the police in enforcing the precepts of the Koran. It is with great reluctance, that the Mahometans tolerate the Chriſtians in the uſe of a liquor they envy them; wine, therefore, is not habitual or familiar, except in the Kefraouan, and the country of the Druzes; and

and their repaſts they have a cheerfulneſs which brandy does not procure even in the cities of Aleppo and Damaſcus.

A ſecond ſource of gaiety among us, is the free intercourſe between the two ſexes, which prevails more particularly in France. The effect of which is, that even without any particular views, the men endeavour to obtain the good opinion of the women, and ſtudy to acquire the manners moſt likely to enſure it. Now, ſuch is the nature, or ſuch the education of the ſex, that the firſt merit in their eyes is to be able to amuſe them; and nothing is ſo certain of ſucceeding with them, as ſprightlineſs and mirth. Hence we have contracted a habit of trifling, politeneſs and frivolity, which is become the diſtinguiſhing character of the French nation in Europe. In Aſia on the contrary, the women are rigorouſly ſecluded from the ſociety of men. Conſtantly ſhut up in their houſes, they have no communication but with their huſband, their father, their brother, or at moſt with their couſin-german. Carefully veiled in the ſtreets, they dare hardly ſpeak to a man, even on buſineſs. Every body muſt be ſtrangers to them: it would be indecent to fix

your eyes on them, and you muſt let them paſs you, as if there were ſomething contagious in their nature. And indeed this is nearly the idea of the Orientals, who entertain a general ſentiment of contempt for that ſex. It may be aſked, what is the cauſe of this? The ſame which operates on every thing; the laws and government. In fact, Mahomet, paſſionately fond as he was of women, has not, however, done them the honour of treating them in his Koran as appertaining to the human ſpecies; he does not ſo much as make mention of them either with reſpect to the ceremonies of religion, or the rewards of another life; and it is even a ſort of problem with the Mahometans, whether women have ſouls. The government is ſtill more unjuſt towards them; for it denies them the poſſeſſion of any landed property, and ſo completely deprives them of every kind of perſonal liberty, as to leave them dependent all their lives on a huſband, a father, or a relation. In this ſtate of ſlavery, having nothing at their diſpoſal, we cannot ſuppoſe it very neceſſary to ſolicit their favour, or to adopt that gaiety of manners they find ſo captivating. The government and laws are, no doubt,

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the efficient cauſe of this ſequeſtration of the women; and perhaps, were it not for the facility of divorces, and the dread of ſeeing a wife or daughter carried off by ſome powerful man, the Aſiatics would be leſs anxious to conceal them from ſtrangers.

This ſituation of the women among the Orientals, occaſions a great contraſt between their manners and ours. Such is their delicacy on this head, that they never ſpeak of them; and it would be eſteemed highly indecent to make any enquiries of the men reſpecting the women of their family. We muſt be conſiderably advanced in familiarity with them, to enter into a converſation on ſuch a ſubject; and when we then give them ſome account of our manners, it is impoſſible to expreſs their amazement. They are unable to conceive how our women go with their faces uncovered, when, in their country, an uplifted veil is the mark of a proſtitute, or the ſignal for a love adventure. They have no idea how it is poſſible to ſee them, to talk with them, and touch them, without emotion, or to be alone with them without proceeding to the laſt extremities. This aſtoniſhment will ſufficiently ſhew what opinion

they entertain of their females; and we need not hesitate to conclude they are absolutely ignorant of love, in our sense of the word. That desire on which it is founded, is with them stripped of all those accessories which constitute its charm; privation is there without a sacrifice, victory without a combat, and enjoyment without delicacy; they pass at once from torment to satiety. Lovers there are prisoners, always watching to deceive their keepers, and always alert to seize the first opportunity, because it seldom happens, and is soon lost. Secret as conspirators, they conceal their good fortune as a crime because it is attended with no less fatal consequences. Indiscretion can scarcely avoid the poniard, the pistol, or poison. Its destructive consequences to the women render them implacable in punishing, and, to revenge themselves, they are frequently more cruel than their husbands and their brothers. This severity preserves a considerable degree of chastity and decorum in the country; but in the great towns, where there are more resources for intrigue, as much debauchery prevails as among us; only with this difference, that it is more concealed. Aleppo, Damascus, and above all, Cairo, are not

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ſecond in this reſpect to our provincial capitals. Young girls are reſerved there as every where elſe, becauſe the diſcovery of a love adventure would coſt them their lives; but married women give themſelves up to pleaſure with the more freedom, to indemnify themſelves for the long and ſtrict reſtraint they have endured, and becauſe they have often juſt reaſons for revenging themſelves on their maſters. In fact, from the practice of polygamy permitted by the Koran, the Turks, in general, are enervated very early, and nothing is more common than to hear men of thirty complaining of impotence. This is the malady for which they chiefly conſult the Europeans, deſiring them to give them *Madjoun*, by which they mean provocatives. This infirmity is the more mortifying to them, as ſterility is a reproach among the Orientals; they ſtill retain for fecundity all the eſteem of ancient times; and the beſt wiſh you can make a young girl, is that ſhe may ſoon get a huſband, and have a great number of children. From this prejudice they haſten their marriages ſo much, that it is not rare to ſee girls of nine or ten years old

married to boys of twelve or thirteen. It muſt however be confeſſed, that the apprehenſions of libertiniſm, and the ſeverity with which that is puniſhed by the Turkiſh police, greatly contribute to theſe premature unions, which muſt likewiſe be reckoned among the cauſes of their early impotence. The ignorance of the Turks will not ſuffer itſelf to be perſuaded on this head, and they are ſo irrational as to force nature, at the very time their health is impaired by exceſs. This alſo is to be aſcribed to the Koran, in which the amorous prophet has taken care to inſert a precept inculcating this ſpecies of duty. Monteſquieu, therefore, is in the right, to aſſign polygamy as one of the cauſes of depopulation in Turkey; but it is one of the leaſt conſiderable, as there are few but the rich who allow themſelves a plurality of women; the common people, and eſpecially thoſe of the country, content themſelves with one; and perſons are ſometimes to be met with, even among the higher ranks, who are wiſe enough to imitate their example, and confeſs that one wife is quite ſufficient.

What we are able to learn of the domeſtic life

life of the husbands who have several wives, is neither calculated to make their lot envied, nor to give a high idea of this part of Mahomet's legislation. Their house is a perpetual scene of tumult and contention. Nothing is to be heard but quarrels between the different wives, and complaints made to the husband. The four legal married women complain that their slaves are preferred to them, and the slaves, that they are abandoned to the jealousy of their mistresses. If one wife obtains a trinket, a token of favour, or permission to go to the bath, all the others require the same, and league together in the common cause. To restore peace, the polygamist is obliged to assume the tone of a despot, and from that moment he meets with nothing but the sentiments of slaves, the appearance of fondness and real hatred. In vain does each of these women protest she loves him more than the rest; in vain do they fly, on his entering the apartments, to present him his pipe and his slippers, to prepare his dinner, to serve him his coffee; in vain, whilst he is effeminately stretched out upon his carpet, do they chace away the flies

which incommode him; all these attentions and caresses have no other object than to procure an addition to their trinkets and moveables, that if he should repudiate them, they may be able to tempt another husband, or find a resource in what becomes their only property. They are merely courtezans, who think of nothing but to strip their lover before he quits them; and this lover, long since deprived of desires, teized by feigned fondness, and tormented with all the listlessness of satiety, is far from enjoying, as we may well imagine, an enviable situation. The contempt the Turks entertain for their women, arises from this concurrence of circumstances, and it is evidently the effect of their own customs. For how should the women retain that exclusive love, which renders them most estimable, when so many share in the affections of their husband? How should they possess that modesty which constitutes their greatest virtue, when the most shocking scenes of debauchery are daily before their eyes? How, in a word, should they be endowed with the manners requisite to make them amiable, when no care what-

ever

ever is taken of their education; The Greeks at leaſt derive this advantage from religion, that, being permitted to take but one wife at a time, they enjoy more domeſtic peace, though perhaps without approaching nearer to real happineſs.

It is remarkable, that in conſequence of the difference in religion, there exiſts between the Chriſtians and Mahometans of Syria, and indeed of all Turkey, as marked a difference of character as if they were two diſtinct nations, living under different climates. Travellers, and our merchants, who on account of the habits of intimacy in which they live with both, are ſtill better qualified to decide, agree that the Greek Chriſtians are in general wicked and deceitful, abject in adverſity, inſolent in proſperity, and eſpecially remarkable for levity and fickleneſs: the Mahometans, on the contrary, though haughty even to inſolence, poſſeſs however a ſort of goodneſs of heart, humanity, and juſtice; and above all, never fail to manifeſt great fortitude under misfortune, and much firmneſs of character. This contraſt between men, living under the ſame

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ſky, may appear ſurpriſing; but the prejudices of their education, and the influence of the government under which they live, ſufficiently account for it. The Greeks, treated by the Turks with all the haughtineſs and contempt they ſhew to their ſlaves, cannot but at laſt aſſume the character perpetually aſcribed to them: they have been obliged to practiſe deceit, to eſcape from violence by cunning, and they have recourſe to the meaneſt flatteries, becauſe the weak muſt ever court the ſtrong; they are diſſemblers and miſchievous, becauſe he who cannot openly revenge himſelf, diſguiſes his hatred; cowardly and treacherous, ſince he who cannot attack in front, naturally ſtrikes behind; and inſolent in proſperity, becauſe they who attain wealth or power unworthily, are eager to revenge themſelves by returning all the contempt they have received in the purſuit. I was one day obſerving to a very ſenſible monk, that among all the Chriſtians, who in more modern times have been advanced to eminent ſtations in this country, not one of them has ſhewn himſelf worthy of his good fortune. Ibrahim was meanly avari-

cious;

cious; Sad-el-Kouri irreſolute and puſillanimous, his ſon Randour, ignorant and inſolent, and Rezk, cowardly and deceitful: his anſwer was, word for word, as follows: "The Chriſtians have not *hands* proper "to manage the reins of government, be- "cauſe, during their youth they have been "continually employed in *beating cotton*. "They reſemble thoſe who walk for the firſt "time on high terraces, they grow giddy at "ſeeing themſelves ſo exalted, and as they "are afraid they ſhall be forced to return to "their olives and cheeſe, they are in haſte "to make all the profits they can. The "Turks on the contrary, are accuſtomed to "govern; they are maſters habituated to "their authority, and uſe it as if they had "no fear of being deprived of it." We muſt not forget, at the ſame time, that the Mahometans have the prejudices of fataliſm inſtilled into them from their birth, and have a full perſuaſion that every thing is predeſtined. Hence they experience a ſecurity which moderates both deſire and fear, and a reſignation by which they are equally prepared for good and evil; they are habituated

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in a kind of apathy, which equally prevents them from regretting the paſt or providing againſt the future. Does the Mahometan ſuffer by any misfortune? Is he plundered? Is he ruined? he calmly ſays, "It was writ-"ten," and ſubmits, without a murmur, to the moſt unexpected tranſition from opulence to poverty. Even on the bed of death, nothing diſturbs the tranquillity of his reſignation, he makes his ablution, repeats his prayers, profeſſes his belief in God, and the prophet; he tranquilly ſays to his ſon; "turn "my head towards Mecca," and dies in peace. The Greeks, on the contrary, who believe that God may be prevailed on to change his purpoſe, by vows, faſting, prayer, and pilgrimages, live in the perpetual deſire of obtaining ſome new bleſſing, the fear of loſing ſome good they already poſſeſs, or tormented by regret for ſome duty omitted. Their hearts are a prey to every contending paſſion, nor do they avoid their deſtructive effects, except ſo far as the circumſtances in which they live, and the example of the Mahometans enfeeble the prejudices of their childhood. We may add a remark equally

true

true of both religions, that the inhabitants of the inland country have more integrity, ſimplicity, and generoſity, and are in every reſpect of more amiable manners than thoſe upon the ſea-coaſt, no doubt becauſe the latter continually engaged in commerce, have contracted, by their mode of life, a mercantile ſpirit, naturally inimical to all thoſe virtues which are founded on moderation and diſintereſtedneſs.

After what I have ſaid of the manners of the Orientals, we ſhall be no longer aſtoniſhed that their whole character partakes of the monotony of their private life, and of the ſtate of ſociety in which they live. Even in the cities where we ſee moſt activity, as Aleppo, Damaſcus, and Cairo, all their amuſements conſiſt in going to the bath, or meeting together in coffee-houſes, which only reſemble ours in name. There, in a large room, filled with ſmoak, ſeated on ragged mats, the wealthier claſs of people paſs whole days in ſmoaking their pipes, talking of buſineſs, in conciſe phraſes, uttered at long intervals, and frequently in ſaying nothing. Sometimes the dulneſs of this ſilent aſſembly

aſſembly is relieved by the entrance of a ſinger, ſome dancing girls, or one of thoſe ſtory tellers they call *Naſhid*, who, to obtain a few Paras, relates a tale, or recites verſes from ſome ancient poet. Nothing can equal the attention with which they liſten to this orator; people of all ranks have a very extraordinary paſſion for this ſpecies of amuſement. A European traveller is not a little ſurprized to ſee the Turkiſh ſailors, when the weather is calm, aſſemble on the deck, and attentively liſten for two or three hours together, to a declamation, which the moſt unexperienced ear muſt at once perceive to be poetry, from the exactneſs of the meaſure and the continually recurring rhymes. It is not in this alone that the common people of the eaſt excel ours in delicacy. The populace even in the great cities, notwithſtanding the turbulence of their diſpoſitions, are never ſo brutal as we frequently ſee them with us, and they have the great merit of not being addicted to drunkenneſs, a vice from which even our country peaſants are not free. Perhaps this is the only real advantage produced by the legiſlation of Mahomet: unleſs

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we may add the prohibition of games of chance, for which the Orientals have therefore no taſte; cheſs is the only amuſement of this kind they hold in any eſtimation, and we frequently find among them very ſkilful players.

Of all the different ſpecies of public exhibitions, the only one they know, and, which is common at Cairo alone, is that of ſtrolliers, who ſhew feats of ſtrength like our rope-dancers, and tricks of ſlight of hand like our jugglers. We there ſee ſome of them eating flints, others breathing flames, ſome cutting their arms or perforating their noſes, without receiving any hurt, and others devouring ſerpents. The people, from whom they carefully conceal the ſecrets of their art, entertain a ſort of veneration for them, and call theſe extraordinary performances, which appear to have been very ancient in theſe countries, by a name which ſignifies *prodigy* or *miracle*. This propenſity to admiration and readineſs to believe the moſt extravagant tales, is a remarkable feature in the character of the Orientals. They receive, without heſitation or the leaſt

ſhadow of doubt, the moſt wonderful things that can be told them, and if we regard the tales current among them, as many prodigies happen every day as have been aſcribed to the age of the *Genii* and Fairies; the reaſon of which no doubt is, that being totally ignorant of the ordinary courſe of phyſical and moral cauſes, they know not the limits of probability and impoſſibility. Beſides having been accuſtomed from their earlieſt youth to believe the abſurd fables of the Koran, they are wholly deſtitute of any ſtandard of analogy, by which to diſtinguiſh truth from falſehood. Their cruelty therefore ariſes from their ignorance, the imperfection of their education, and the nature of the government. To this credulity the extravagance of imagination which ſome have ſo much admired in their romances, is in a great meaſure to be attributed; but though they were deprived of this ſource, their works would ſtill poſſeſs many brilliant ornaments. In general the Orientals are remarkable for a clear conception, an eaſy expreſſion, a propriety of language in the things they are acquainted with, and a paſſionate and nervous ſtile. They

They have particularly a taſte for moral ſentences, and their proverbs ſhew they know how to unite the juſtneſs of obſervation, and profundity of the thought to an ingenuity and force of expreſſion. Their converſation appears at firſt to have a ſort of coldneſs, but when we are more accuſtomed to it, we find ourſelves greatly attached to them. Such is the good opinion with which thoſe who have had moſt communication with them have been impreſſed, that the greater part of our travellers and merchants, who have known them beſt, allow that they find in them a people of a more humane and generous character, and poſſeſſing more ſimplicity, and more refined and open manners, than even the inhabitants of European Countries, as if the Aſiatics, having been poliſhed long before us, ſtill preſerved the traces of their early improvement.

But it is time to terminate theſe reflexions; I ſhall only add one more, which is perſonal to myſelf. After having lived near three years in Egypt and Syria; after having been habituated to ſpectacles of barbariſm and devaſtation; on my return to France, the ſight of my own country had almoſt the ſame

effect on me as that of a foreign land; I could not avoid feeling a kind of ſurprize, when, traverſing our provinces from the Mediterranean to the ocean, inſtead of thoſe ruined countries and vaſt deſerts to which I had been accuſtomed, I ſaw myſelf tranſported, as it were, into an immenſe garden, where cultivated fields, populous towns, and country ſeats continually ſucceeded each other during a journey of twenty days. When I compared our elegant and ſolid buildings, to the brick and mud-walled cottages I had left behind me, the opulence and induſtry of our cities to the ruinous and deſolate condition of the Turkiſh towns, the plenty, peace, and power of this kingdom, to the poverty, anarchy, and feebleneſs of the empire of the Turks; to admiration ſucceeded pity, and to pity philoſophical meditation. "Whence," ſaid I to myſelf, "ſo ſtriking a contraſt "between countries ſo much alike? Why ſo "much life and activity here, and there ſo "much improvidence and indolence? Why "ſo great a difference between men of the ſame "ſpecies?" Then, remembering that the countries I had ſeen ſo deſolate and barbarous, were once flouriſhing and populous, a ſecond reflection

reflection ſucceeded almoſt involuntarily. "If "formerly," ſaid I, "the ſtates of Aſia en- "joyed this ſplendor, who can aſſure us that "thoſe of Europe will not one day expe- "rience the ſame reverſe?" This thought appeared to me diſtreſſing, yet, perhaps, it may be uſeful. For let us ſuppoſe that at the time when Egypt and Syria were at the ſummit of their glory, ſome one had delineated to the people and governments of thoſe countries, their preſent deplorable ſtate; let us ſuppoſe he had ſaid to them, "Such is the "humiliating decline which muſt be the "conſequence of ſuch and ſuch political "errors: thus ſhall injudicious laws deprive "you of all your wealth and all your power." Is it not probable that theſe governments would have taken care to avoid thoſe fatal miſtakes, which muſt conduct them to ſuch utter deſtruction? What they have not done, it is in our power to do: their example may be a leſſon to us. The great utility of hiſtory is, that by reviving the memory of paſt events, it enables the preſent time to anticipate the coſtly fruits of experience. Travels, in this ſenſe, are no leſs uſeful, and have this advantage; that, as they treat of preſent objects, the

obſerver

obſerver is better able than the poſthumous hiſtorian, to diſcover the relations and cauſes of facts, and to explain the whole working, however complicated, of the political machine. By exhibiting, together with the preſent ſtate of a country, the nature of the ſubſiſting government, the narrative of the traveller may develope the cauſes of its greatneſs and decline, and furniſh us with means to determine the actual duration of the empire. Seen under this point of view, Turkey is a country more eſpecially inſtructive. The account I have given of it, ſhews how the abuſe of authority, by cauſing the miſery of individuals, becomes eventually deſtructive to the power of a ſtate; and what we may ſafely venture to predict, will ſoon prove, that the ruin of a nation ſooner or later recoils on thoſe who have been the cauſe of it, and that the errors or crimes of thoſe who govern cannot fail of their puniſhment, even from the very miſery and wretchedneſs of thoſe whom they have governed.

THE END.

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